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DISSERTATION

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ARRANGEMENT

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UPON AN

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

EDWARD GRESWELL, D.D.

LECTURER IN EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY, KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

SECOND EDITION.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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MDCCCXCV.





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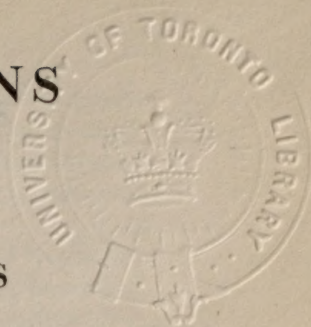
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1881

THE CONTENTS

OF THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

APPENDIX. DISSERTATION XV.

On the Census Orbis at the Nativity 1—65

CENSUS of Augustus, recorded by Suidas—Criticism of Kuster—Census, alluded to in Syncellus—Not a Census Urbis or Census Civium—Description of it, applicable to that of the census at the nativity 1—5

Census of Augustus, according to Malala—Presence of Pedanius in Syria, at the time of the council of Berytus—The gens Pedania—Pedanius, not a legate of Saturninus—Presence of Pedanius, possibly connected with the census at the nativity 5—8

Objection to a Census Orbis from the silence of Dio Cassius—Hiatus in Dio—Mission of Caius Cæsar into the East—Pisan Cenotaph—Ars Amandi of Ovid, and Remedium Amoris 8—10

Numbers in Suidas—Conjectural emendation of δ , for $\nu\iota'$. $\mu\upsilon\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ —Proper sense of $\tilde{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ —Population of the empire under Augustus—Opinion of Mr. Hume—Calculation of Mr. Gibbon—Nations comprehended in the empire, in the time of Diodorus of Tarsus—Estimate of Procopius, of the loss of life under Justinian—Calculation of the population of the empire, thence deducible—Plague under Justinian—Evagrius 10—16

Limitation of the inquiry to the probable amount of the population of Rome under Augustus—Numbers in Suidas, as they stand, applicable neither to the city of Rome, nor to the Roman empire—Censuses of Augustus, on the Ancyran monument—Extra-vagant calculations of the population of Rome 13—18

First general argument of the population of Rome—Numbers of Cives, reported in former censuses—Interruption in the order of the censuses—Census of Phlegon—A Roman census, a Census Civium,

wherever found—Extension of the rights of citizenship to Italy, Gaul, Sicily—Cives Romani in Asia, in the time of Mithridates—Census of Claudius—Freedom of the state extended to Gallia Comata.	18—23
Population of Gaul in general—Numbers destroyed by Cæsar—Population of the Belgæ in particular—Number of nations in Gaul, and average amount of each—Resulting population of the whole	23—26
Description of persons, included in a Roman census—Published results—Militaris ætas, or armigera pars, of a given population—Cases in point to this proportion—Difference to be expected between a census of Augustus, and that of Claudius	26—28
Second general argument of the population of Rome—Numbers of the <i>δημος</i> , or plebs urbana—Number of the senators or knights	28—29
Estimate of the numbers of the plebs urbana, from congiaria or largesses on record—Wine largess of Lucullus—Cædus Congiarius—Proportion to each recipient—Epula of Crassus, and Julius Cæsar	29—30
Bequest of Julius Cæsar at his death—Numbers of the corn pensioners, at different times—Expense of the <i>συνήριον</i> in question—Reconciliation of the different statements in Plutarch—Frumentationes of Augustus, on the Ancyran monument—Proportion of the supplies of corn from Africa, and from Egypt	30—33
Pecuniary largesses of Augustus on the monument—Bequest of Augustus—Bequest of Tiberius—Largess of Caius—Largess of Severus—Numbers of the Prætorian guard, and Cohortes Urbane	33—34
Review of the above observations—Resulting conclusion of the numbers of the <i>δημος</i> of Rome—Married citizens, in the time of Julius Cæsar	35—36
Canon frumentarius, or daily issue of corn at the time of the death of Severus—Number of recipients—Rate of allowance to each—The chœnix—The medimnus—The modius—The corn ticket, the	

- right of the citizens of both sexes—Jewish Roman citizens—Children included—Register of births at Rome, and in the provinces—General conclusion—Increase of the population from Augustus to Severus—That it was not greater, due to what causes more especially 36—41
- Proportion of the population of Constantinople, in the time of Constantine, to that of Rome in the time of Severus—Date of the foundation of Constantinople—Magnitude of the city from the first—Testimony of Eunapius—Corn pension of its citizens—Issue of *ἀρτοι* or bread, and its amount daily—Resulting population of the city 36—38
- Conclusion from the *congiaria* or largesses, confirmed by a comparison of the magnitude of the theatres at Rome—*Descriptio Urbis Romæ* of Publius Victor—Theatres, in the time of Augustus—The three theatres and the three fora—Joint amount of sittings in these theatres—Circus Maximus—Competent to contain the whole of the people—Its size at different times—Size, in the time of Victor—General conclusion, from the amount of sittings in all these buildings conjointly, consistent with the former . . . 41—44
- Proportion of foreigners and slaves, to the free population of Rome—Exaggerated allusions to this subject in contemporary writers—Strangers, occasionally expelled—Proportion of slaves in the time of Seneca—Slave population of Athens in the time of Xenophon—General estimate of the total population of Rome. 44—46
- Third general argument of the magnitude of Rome—Comparison of Rome with other principal cities—Magnitude of ancient Carthage, as conjecturable from that of new—Site of Carthage—The Byrsa and Magalia—Perimeter of Carthage—Population of Carthage at the third Punic war 46—47
- Alexandria in Egypt—Shape of Alexandria—The Macedonian chlamys—Perimeter or magnitude of the city—Street of the Sun and the Moon—Quarters or regions of the city, and their names—Jews of Alexandria, and their numbers—Flaccus Aquilius—Alexandria in the time of Diodorus, and population of Egypt—Population of Egypt, at the commencement of the Jewish war—Album of the citizens of Alexandria—Included women and children—General estimate of the population of Alexandria . . 47—51

Corn-pension of the poor of Alexandria, in the time of Diocletian—
 Proportion of the poor to the *δημος* generally—Proportion of the
 poor at Antioch and Constantinople, in the time of Chrysos-
 stom 51—52

Seleucia ad Tigrim—Power and independence of this city—Jews of
 Seleucia, U. C. 790 or 791—Population of Seleucia, in the time of
 Marcus Aurelius—Population, in the time of Pliny 52—53

Antioch on the Orontes—The metropolis of Syria—Census of Apa-
 mea by Quirinus—Founders or enlargers of Antioch, at different
 times—Antigonia—Street, paved by Herod in Antioch—Perimeter
 of Antioch—Military population of Antioch—*Δημος* of Antioch, in
 the time of Chrysostom—Numbers of the church, and of the poor
 of Antioch—Oratio Antiochica of Libanius—Probable population
 of Antioch—Earthquakes at Antioch, and loss of life, at different
 times—Capture of Antioch by Chosroes—New name of Antioch,
 Theopolis or Theïpolis 53—57

Fourth general argument—Probable extent of ground covered by
 Rome—Divisions or Regiones of Rome—Pomœrium of Rome
 —Ancient Rome, equal in periphery to Athens—Perimeter of
 Athens—Walls of Rome, at the census of Vespasian—Suburbs
 of Rome—Estimate of the compass of Rome by Aristides—Wall
 of Aurelian—Date of its construction—*Διάστημα* of the wall of
 Rome, A. D. 410—Olympiodorus—Ammon—Semicircular shape of
 Rome—*Διάστημα* in question, the radius of the circle 57—59

Number of the births at Rome, soon after the same time—Content
 of the Circus Maximus, at the same period—Proportion of births
 in cities, annually 59—60

Allowance to be made, for the language of contemporaries in speak-
 ing of the magnitude of Rome—Number of families in the same
 house—Altitude of the houses—Vacant spaces—Uninhabited build-
 ings 60—61

Passage of Pliny, descriptive of the magnitude of Rome, U. C. 830,
 how to be understood—Reading of xiii miles—Milliarium Au-
 reum—Castra Prætoria—Number of gates of Rome—Number of
 Viæ Publicæ—The Pomœrium, what—Gates and Viæ in the time of

Procopius Square miles of the area, or ground plan of Rome—
Insulæ and Domus at Rome, and number of both together. . 61—65

DISSERTATION XVI.

*On the Jewish and Julian dates of the several years of the
Jewish war* 66—81

Cardinal dates in the Jewish year, Nisan 15 and Tisri 15—Interval between, of what extent—Calendar of the dates in question from U. C. 819, A. D. 66 to U. C. 826, A. D. 73. 66—68

Jewish year lunar, at the gospel era—Book of Enoch—Galen—Book of Ecclesiasticus—Syro-Macedonian names of months, applied by Josephus to the months in the Jewish year in his time. . 66—67

Confirmation of the correctness of the calendar proposed, by cases in point, U. C. 819, 820, 821, and 822—Investigation of the Julian date of Tisri 15, U. C. 822—Rule of Josephus, in specifying the lengths of the reigns between Nero and Vitellius. 69—70

Reign of Galba—Reign of Nero—Corruption in the text of Josephus—Reign of Otho—Birthday of Otho—Reign of Vitellius—Birthday of Vitellius—Date of the day of his death—Third of Apellæus in Josephus—Corruption, for the 20th of Audenæus—Tisri, a month of 29 days. 70—74

Date of the death of Nero—Lengths of the reigns from Nero to Vitellius—Course of events, between the adoption and the death of Piso—Date of the death of Otho, and arrival of the news at Rome—Course of events in Tacitus, between xv. Kal. Jan. and the date of the death of Vitellius 72—73

Modern Jewish calendar—Rabbi Samuel—Difference in the mode of computing the number of days in Nisan—Rule, by which it might best be regulated—Nisan in an intercalated year, necessarily thirty days—Octaeteric cycle, among the Jews—Adar and Veadar—Testimony of Galen—Liber Enoch 75—76

Statements occurring in Josephus—Artemisius, a month of 30 days—Lous, a month of 29—Date of the duration of the second temple—Omission, in the number of days—Omission of one part of a certain number, in Josephus—Adar or Dystrus, 30 days—

Book of Esdras—Interval from Nisan 15 to Jar 15, in the year of the Exodus—Nisan, a month of 29 days—*Ῥπακὰς*, or last day of Tisri—Secondary sense of *Ῥπακὰς*—Tisri, U. C. 822, a month of 29 days—*Ῥπακὰς* of Xanthicus, in the Syro-Macedonian year.....76—81

DISSERTATION XVII.

Chronology of the Historia Naturalis of Pliny82—97

Notices of time in the *Historia*—Work of Pliny, *De Grammatica*, or *Dubii Sermonis*—Mutianus ter Consul—Consulships of Mucian—Tacitus, *De causis corruptæ eloquentiæ*—Neapolis in Samaria—War in Britain—Age of Homer and Hesiod—Interval from the death of Cato Major—Foundation of Utica—Theophrastus—Temple of peace—Lupus, prefect of Egypt—Story of Sabinus—Works of Pliny—Date of the death of Pliny 82—88

Date of the death of Virgil, according to Pliny—Reasons for preferring it to the common one—Donatus' life of Virgil—Twelfth ode of the fourth book of Horace, addressed to Virgil—Date of the fourth book of Horace—Sicambri—Rhæti and Vindelici—The *Consolatio ad Liviam*—Date of Horace, *Carminum* iv, v—Virgil living, U. C. 739 88—90

Date of the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Æneid* of Virgil—Episode of Aristæus, in the fourth *Georgic*—Death of Gallus—Internal evidences of the date of the third *Georgic*—Internal evidences of the date of the *Æneid* 90—91

Epigram of Domitius Marsus—Death of Tibullus, synchronous with that of Virgil—Classical sense of *juvenis*—Age of Virgil, when he composed his *Bucolics*—Date of the birth of Virgil—Virgil, contemporary with Cicero—Date of the birth of Tibullus—Suspected genuineness of Tibullus, iii. v. 17, 18—*Amores* of Ovid—Order and time of the extant or other works of Ovid—Date of the *Ars Amandi*, and *Remedium Amoris*—Expedition of Caius Cæsar—Banishment of Ovid—Allusions to the cause of it—Probable date of the *Amores*—Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, flourished successively 91—95

No allusion to the death of Virgil, in Horace—First allusion to the *Æneid*, in any contemporary writer—Date of the *Elegies* of Pro-

pertius—Inconsistency between the extant accounts of the death of Virgil—Epitaph of Virgil on himself—Calabria, a name coextensive with Messapia—Absurdity of the account of the Life of Virgil—Visit of Virgil's to Athens—Date of the first book of the Odes of Horace 95—97

DISSERTATION XVIII.

Chronology of the Second Jewish War, in the time of Hadrian 98—116

Duration of the second Jewish war, analogous to that of the first—Desolating effects of the second war—Expulsion of the Jews from Judæa—Traditionary accounts of the Jews, relating to the second war 98—99

Seventy years' interval, between the beginning of the first and the end of the second war, analogous to the seventy years' interval, between the destruction of the temple and the second of Darius—Dates of the close of the second war—Siege of Bither—Exposition of the seventy weeks, secundum Hebræos—First of Darius, confounded by Jerome with the first of Cyrus—Close of the war, A. D. 136—Olympiads of Phlegon 99—102

Date of the beginning of the war—Dates of Jerome—Church of the holy sepulchre—Venerarium of Ambrose, on mount Calvary—Date of Epiphanius—Referred to the second of Titus—Beginning of the war, A. D. 127 102—103

Motives to the rebellion of the Jews—Ælia Capitolina—Interdict against circumcision, removed in the reign of Antoninus Pius—Coincidence of the rebellion with the interval of Hadrian's visit to Egypt and Syria 103—104

Journeyings of Hadrian—Tillemont—Eckhel—Coins of the Egyptian nomi prove the presence of Hadrian in Egypt, in the eleventh of his reign—Number of the nomi—Nomi, which have the eleventh of Hadrian, and nomi, which have not—Coins of Antinous—Date of the death of Antinous—Hadrian in Egypt, in the eleventh of his reign—Alexandrian, or Egyptian, reckoning of the years of his reign 104—107

Objection, from the coins of Alexandria, in the XVth of Hadrian—Do

not exhibit the Adventus Augusti—An Adventus not necessarily implied by their devices—Letter of Hadrian, in Vopiscus—Epigram of Publius Balbinus, on the statue of Memnon—Memnon, Phamenoph—Common reckoning of the XVth of Hadrian, the XVIth, in the Egyptian—Sabina in Egypt by herself, on this occasion—Possible double visit of Hadrian's to Egypt, in his eleventh and his fifteenth—Letter of Hadrian to Servianus, in Vopiscus—Hadrian in Egypt, not long before the adoption of Verus 107—110

Visits of Hadrian to Athens—Hadrian present at the Mysteries—At the Dionysia—Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides—Rescript to Fundanus—Consecration of the Olympium—Date of Philostratus—Propylæa of Athens—Testimony of Dio Chrysostom—Strabo—Dicæarchus, or the *βίος Ἑλλάδος*—Visit of Hadrian to Africa—Visit to Britain..... 110—113

Different accounts of the duration of the war—The last four years, the most arduous part of the war—Rebellion under Hadrian, confounded with that under Trajan—Colonies of Hadrian in Africa—Roman commanders in the war—Julius Severus, Titus Annius Rufus—Readings of this name—Velius Rufus—Hadrian with the army in person, in the course of the war—Double era of the coins of Gaza—Presumptive proof that Hadrian was there, between what limits 113—115

Fragment remaining of the apology of Quadratus—Quadratus might be personally acquainted with subjects of our Saviour's miracles—Anecdote recorded by Socrates, of Acesius and Constantine at the council of Nice, from Auxanon, an eyewitness—Similar accounts of Evagrius..... 115—116

DISSERTATION XIX.

On the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, and the second part of the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles ... 117—258

Proposed survey of the chronology of the Acts, from the thirteenth chapter to the end—Two fixed points capable of being determined therein—Determination of the second of them first... 117—118

Point of time of St. Paul's last arrival at Jerusalem in the Acts—

When there was no regular high priest—True sense of St. Paul's words before the council 118—119

History of the succession of high priests—Ananias, son of Nebedæus—Jonathan, son of Annas or Ananus—Ishmael—Jonathan, high priest between the twelfth of Claudius, and the first of Nero—Assassination of Jonathan, in the first of Nero—Removal of Felix, not later than the fifth of Nero—Appointment of Ishmael, not earlier than the first of Nero, nor later than the fourth 119—121

Further limitation of the period between the death of Jonathan and the appointment of Ishmael—Appointment of Ishmael, in the first half of the third of Nero—Confirmed by the misstatement of Josephus, Ant. iii. xv. 3—High priests under Claudius—High priest during the famine, under Claudius—Frequency of famines at this period—Nomination of the high priests vested in Agrippa the younger—History of Agrippa, from the last of Claudius to the second of Nero—Expedition of Corbulo against the Parthians—Assassination of Jonathan at the feast of Tabernacles, or Passover, in the second of Nero—Appointment of Ishmael at or before the feast of Tabernacles, next ensuing—Time, when there was no regular high priest, and St. Paul arrived in Jerusalem, the Pentecost between 121—124

Circumstantial confirmation of the above conclusion—Rise of the Sicarii—Ananias, vicar of Jonathan—The Egyptian false prophet—Accounts of Josephus, consistent with those of the Acts—Accounts of Josephus in the Antiquities, and in the War—Time of the ultimate defeat of this impostor, when St. Paul was at Cæsarea—Services of Felix—Eleazar, the ἀρχιεπίσκοπος—Time of the appointment of Felix—Date of the administration of Cumanus—War of the Jews and Samaritans—ἑορτή, or ἡ ἑορτή, absolutely, the feast of Tabernacles—Quadratus—Ananias and Jonathan sent to Rome—Procuratorship procured for Felix—Drusilla, wife of Felix—Perishes, in the eruption of Vesuvius—Interval, since St. Paul's last visit—Sedition at Cæsarea—Ishmael, high priest when Paul was tried before Festus—Death of Ananias, in the Jewish war—Ananias, distinct from Ananus the younger . . 124—129

Discrepancy between Josephus and Tacitus—Inaccuracy of Tacitus on Jewish affairs—Quadratus—Cassius Longinus—Vibius Marsus

—Meherdates—Jurisdiction of Felix, probably coordinate from the first, with that of Cumanus—Marriage of Claudius and Agrippina—General agreement of the two accounts—Adoption of Nero—Suetonius and Tacitus at variance—Appointment of Seneca to be the tutor of Nero 129—133

Determination of the second of the proposed points of time—Meeting of Paul and Aquila at Corinth—Expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius—Number of the Jews at Rome—Testimony of Suetonius—Confusion of Christus with Chrestus—Date of the expulsion, the time of the Parthian embassy to ask for Meherdates—Date of Apollinarius of Laodicea, for the rupture of the Jews and Romans in the reign of Claudius—Confirmed by Orosius—Causes of the expulsion, in the facts which had recently occurred in Judæa—Danger of a serious breach with the Romans, at this time—Wars and rumours of wars, in the prophecy on the mount—Probable date of the decree of expulsion—Consequent time of the arrival of Aquila at Corinth 133—137

Distribution of intermediate particulars, from the Pentecost of U. C. 802, the date of St. Paul's second circuit, to the arrival at Corinth, on this occasion—Residence at Thessalonica—Interval between Pentecost, U. C. 797, the beginning of Paul's first circuit, and Pentecost, U. C. 802, the beginning of his second, and mode of filling it up—Time of the council at Jerusalem—Arrival of St. Paul at Corinth, in the spring of U. C. 803—Confirmation of the above conclusions, by circumstantial coincidences—Decree of Claudius, probably known at Philippi and Thessalonica—Famine, in the ninth of Claudius—Prices of the modius of corn—Double supply of the wants of Paul from Philippi, within this period—Time of the arrival at Corinth—Why St. Paul might accept relief from the Philippians, while he declined it from other churches 137—142

Course of events, from the time of the arrival at Corinth—Length of the residence of St. Paul—Feast attended by him at Jerusalem—Time, when he was passing through Ephesus—Vow of Aquila—Doctrine of the Naziræatus—Prosecution of Paul, before Gallio—Province of Achaia—Proconsuls of Achaia—Proconsulship of Gallio—Honours of Seneca and Gallio—Consulship of Seneca—Banishment and recall of Seneca—Prætorship of Gallio 142—148

Visit of Paul to Antioch—Meeting of Paul and Peter at Antioch—Beginning of the residence at Ephesus—Length of time taken up by it—Date of its close—*Ἀγοραῖοι*, fora, or conventus of antiquity—Circuits of the governors of provinces—Ephesus, the *πρώτη*, or metropolitan city—Privilege of the *κατάπλους*—Proconsuls of Asia Proper—Office and title of *γραμματεὺς*—Proconsul of Asia in the first of Nero—*Ἐκκλησίαι* of antiquity, and times of holding them—Neocoratus of Ephesus—The *Ἀσιάρχαι*—Olympia of Ephesus—Ephesia, or games of Diana at Ephesus—Ephesia of Xenophon at Scillus—Ephesia of Achilles Tatius. 148—156

Course of events from the time of the departure from Ephesus—Residence of Paul in Macedonia and Achaia—Date of the departure from Philippi—Time of the arrival at Jerusalem—Coincidence of this date with the former. 156

Confirmation of the above conclusions, by the dates of the Epistles of St. Paul hitherto written—Date and place of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians 156—160

Date and place of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians . . . 160

Date and place of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. . . . 160—165

Collection for the church of Jerusalem in Achaia—Gymnastic exercises of the ancients 164—166

Date and place of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians—Collection for the church of Achaia—Rapture of St. Paul 166—168

Date and place of the Epistle to the Romans—Via Egnatia through Macedonia—Collections for the church of Jerusalem—Erastus—Gaius—Narcissus—Aristobulus. 169—173

Date and place of the Epistle to the Galatians—Barnabas, apostle of the uncircumcision, as well as St. Paul—*τὸ πρότερον*—St. Paul's thorn in the flesh—Collections for the church of Judæa in Galatia—Titus—St. Luke—Barnabas—Arrival of Titus and St. Luke at Ephesus, during St. Paul's residence there—Sabbatic year, U. C. 808 to 809—Judaizing teachers, in Corinth and Galatia—*Ἀποκόπτεσθαι*—Resemblance of Romans and Galatians—Thorn in the flesh of St. Paul—*Στίγματα* of antiquity 173—189

Arrival of St. Paul at Jerusalem by the Pentecost of U. C. 809—Interval between his arrival and the date of his examination before Felix—Cæsarea—Antipatris—Date of the two years' imprisonment—Date of the arrival of Festus—Date of the defence before Agrippa—Date of the departure to Rome 189—192

Harvest in Egypt—Corn-ships of Alexandria—Tabellariæ or packets—Route of the corn-ships—Etesian winds—Delays in sailing anciently—St. Paul delayed by the Etesian winds—Dates of the Etesian winds—*Νηστεία*, or fast of the tenth of Tisri—Shutting of the sea, at the autumnal equinox—St. Paul proposing to winter in Crete—Storms at the *Πλειάδων δύσις*—Dates of the Vergiliarum occasus—Storm encountered by Aristides—Opening of the sea in spring—Rising of the Pleiades—Date of the shipwreck of St. Paul—Date of the departure from Malta—Date of the arrival at Rome 192—199

Στρατοπεδάρχης at Rome—Burrus—Captains of the Prætorian guard—*Σπείρα Σεβαστῆς*, a cohort Prætorian—Character of the reign of Nero for the first five years—Murder of Agrippina—Epistles of Paul and Seneca 199—201

Epistles written from Rome during St. Paul's first imprisonment; and their order and dates—Epaphras or Epaphroditus—Abbreviation of names anciently—Ephesians, written before Colossians and Philemon—Colossians and Philemon, before Philippians—Arrival of Timothy at Rome—Imprisonment of Timothy at Rome—Sickness of Epaphras or Epaphroditus—Sickliness of Rome in the autumnal season—Rising of the dog-star—Sacrum Canarium—No Epistles written by St. Paul, in the first year of his imprisonment 201—208

Epistle to the Ephesians, whether written to the church of Ephesus or not—Words *Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, whether part of the Epistle originally—Testimony of Basil—Testimony of Jerome—Illustration of the use of *τοῖς οὖσιν*, absolutely—Testimony of Ignatius, misunderstood—Distinction between *omne* and *totum*—Doctrine of the article—Proper sense and construction of Ephesians ii. 21.—Epistle to Laodicea—The Presbyter Caius—Marcion—Apocryphal Epistle to Laodicea—Laodicea, Colossæ, Hierapolis, contiguous—Gospel not preached by St. Paul on the first occasion, out of Ephesus—Philemon and Onesimus, both converted at Rome—Testimony of

Polycarp in the Epistle to the Philippians—Tychicus, whether an Ephesian—Ephesians, whether a circular Epistle—Laodicea overthrown by an earthquake	208—217
Date and place of the Epistle to the Hebrews—Ascribed to various authors—The composition of St. Paul in Hebrew, and probably translated by St. Luke—Circumstances under which it was written—Imprisonment and liberation of Timothy—The future, imperfectly known to the apostles—Language of St. Paul to the Ephesian elders, Acts xx. 25—Persecution, and rise of false teachers in the church of Ephesus	217—224
Visit of St. Paul to Spain—Testimony to the fact of that visit—Caius the Presbyter—Clemens Romanus—Boundary of the west anciently, Spain or the Straits of Gibraltar—Non-extant Epistle of St. Paul—Supposed visit of St. Paul to Britain—Probable length of the residence in Spain—Inscription in Gruter—Date of the Epistle to the Hebrews— <i>Ἡγούμενοι</i> of the Hebrew church, and their exode or death—Martyrdom of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem—Hegesippus—Josephus—Supposed interpolation of the text of Josephus—Procuratorship of Albinus—History of Jesus, son of Ananus—High priesthood of Ananus—Resulting date of the martyrdom of James—Mission of the high priest Ishmael to Rome—Poppæa, wife of Nero—Divorce of Octavia—Festus—Albinus—Florus—Death of Poppæa—Neronea of Nero—Resulting confirmation of the date of the Epistle.	224—236
Date and place of remaining Epistles of St. Paul—Second to Timothy written from Rome, during St. Paul's second imprisonment there—Relative place and order of the First of Timothy, and Titus—Nicopolis—Places so called anciently—Titus, written from Macedonia before First to Timothy—First to Timothy written from Nicopolis in Epirus—Winter spent at Nicopolis—Visit of St. Paul to Crete—Preaching of the gospel by St. Paul in Dalmatia—Internal evidences of the lateness of these two Epistles.	236—244
Date of the Second Epistle to Timothy—Martyrdom of Paul and Peter at Rome—Whether in the same year, and on the same day or not—Testimonies, and inference from them—Clemens Romanus, &c.—Coincidences of days, and events, brought about by accident	244—248

Circumstantial investigation of the date of the death of St. Paul and St. Peter—Burning of Rome by Nero—Persecution of Christianity, independent of that event—Traditionary length of the ministry of St. Paul and St. Peter—Paul and Peter probably both dead when the Jewish war broke out—Best authenticated year of the death of each—Testimonies of various kinds—Internal evidence of the Second Epistle to Timothy—Paul brought to Rome in the spring of U. C. 819—Audience of Paul before Nero—Visit of Nero to Achaia, U. C. 819—Tiridates—Cestius Gallus—Victories of Nero in the games—Regular Olympic year deferred—Proconsul of Asia, U. C. 819—St. Paul sent to Rome the second time as a Roman citizen—Traditionary day of his martyrdom—Helius, freedman of Nero, at the head of affairs in his absence—Paul put to death by Nero or Helius—Ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων of Clemens. 248—257

Martyrdom of Peter—Obscurity of the circumstances, which led to it, or preceded it—Not living or at Rome, when Paul wrote to Timothy—Nicephorus—Date of his sitting at Rome—His death at hand, when he wrote the Second Epistle—Resulting date of his death 257—258

SUPPLEMENT TO DISSERTATION XV. AND APPENDIX DISSERTATION XIX.

On the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. 259—414

Reasons for resuming the consideration of the prophecy 259

Text of the prophecy, with the Bible and other versions of it. . . 260

Ancient Italic or Latin Vulgate, according to Tertullian and Cyprian 264

Number of the weeks in the prophecy 266

Remarks on the Septuagint version 267

Number of weeks not less than seventy, but possibly as great as seventy and an half 269

The weeks, whether continuous or interrupted 270

Various versions of the word rendered by, *determined* 271

The weeks, whether weeks of years 273

Supposed proper sense of the Hebrew שבועים 274

Possible senses of the word year 275

Whether the years of the prophecy are lunar or solar	276
Supposed prophetic or Chaldaic year	280
A civil year of 360 days, under what circumstances once in use	281
Antediluvian and postdiluvian year of the most ancient kind, what	282
The Chaldaic year in the time of Daniel, a year of 365 days.	283
No evidence of the computation of time by the prophetic year of 360 days, in the Book of Daniel	284
Calculations of that kind apparently in the Book of Revelation, on what principle to be explained	285
The proper measure of such periods, their length as specified in days	ibid.
Difference between the apparent and the real length of time embraced by the prophecy, as it is supposed to compute by prophetic or by solar years	ibid.
³ <i>Ἀρχὴ</i> or beginning of the decursus of the weeks, whether determinable from the prophecy to the time of what event.	290
Object or purpose of the going forth of a word, whether determinable beforehand, or not	291
Public acts or decrees, on record in scripture, which might seem to agree with each of these descriptions of its own point of departure, furnished by the prophecy beforehand	294
Kings of Persia, mentioned in the Book of Ezra, and proofs that the Artaxerxes of Ezra is Artaxerxes Longimanus	295
Particular consideration of the claims of each of these decrees to be regarded as the point of departure of the prophecy	296
Decree of Artaxerxes to Nehemiah, a gratuitous assumption.	299
Nature of the letters given to Nehemiah	300
Decree of Darius, not strictly entitled to the name	302
Decree of Darius, supplementary to that of Cyrus.	303
Decree of Cyrus—Answers the description in the prophecy, as a going forth of a word, but as nothing more.	304
Decree of Cyrus restricted to the rebuilding of the temple	305
The rebuilding of Jerusalem, to whatsoever extent the effect of the decree of Cyrus, was so only <i>per accidens</i> and <i>ἐκ παρέρπου</i> , in comparison of its proper object.	307
Decree of Cyrus never understood to concede permission to rebuild Jerusalem	308

Decree of Cyrus too near in point of time to the date of the prophecy, to have been intended by it.	309
Reign of Cyrus, as represented in the canon of Ptolomy—Includes the two years of Darius at Babylon.	310
The first of Darius at Babylon, fixed by the 21 days of Daniel. . .	ibid.
Nature of the canon of Ptolemy.	ibid.
Reign of Cyrus, according to the canon, his reign at Babylon. . .	311
First of Cyrus at Babylon fixed by the date of the seventy years' captivity.	ibid.
Darius actually and truly king of Babylon, before Cyrus.	ibid.
Essential to the fulfilment of prophecy that such should have been the case.	ibid.
Cyrus, described as king of Babylon in scripture.	312
Recorded effect of the decree of Cyrus not answerable to that expectation of the effect, which might be formed from the description of the going forth in the prophecy.	312
Prejudice in favour of the decree of Cyrus, partly resolvable into what inaccuracy of the English version.	ibid.
Decree of Cyrus not in accordance to the implied state of the case in the prophecy, with respect both to the nation of the Jews, and to the city of Jerusalem.	314
Proper sense of the Hebrew <i>לְבַי</i>	315
Chronological difficulty of the decree of Cyrus.	317
Decree of Ezra—Proof from the decree itself that it is competent to answer the conditions of the going forth in the prophecy. . .	317
General fitness of the decree of Ezra to answer the conditions of the prophecy—Remarkable character of the decree of Artaxerxes above that of Cyrus or of Darius.	320
The mission of Ezra the date of the political ἀποκατάστασις, or bringing back of all things among the Jews to the state they were in before the captivity.	321
Ezra, regarded by the Jews as their second founder both in church and state.	323
Analogy perceptible between the distance of the date of the mission of Ezra from the date of the first interruption to the continued operation of the decree of Cyrus, and the interval between the date of that decree and the beginning of the captivity.	323

Mission of Nehemiah subordinate to that of Ezra, and intimations of this fact in the prophecy	325
Proper sense of the Hebrew, rendered "In troublous times." ...	326
Analogy perceptible between the mission of Ezra, as succeeded by that of Nehemiah, and the decree of Cyrus, as followed by that of Darius	328
Consideration of the point of time where the prophecy must be supposed to end—Combination of two classes of events in it, the facts of the Christian ministry, and the facts of the Jewish war—Connection between these in the prophecy, independent of the matter interposed	329
The end of the weeks under these circumstances necessarily twofold, and hence the probability that their beginning will be twofold also	331
The absolute length of the prophecy, in either case whether still the same	332
Proper ἀρχή of each of the lines—Subserviency of the first division of the weeks to the determination of the ἀρχή of the second . . .	ibid.
A simple division of one portion of the number from the rest, sufficient as a note of time, or as a chronological boundary between successive lines of events	335
Proper termination of the second of the lines, relating to the events of the Jewish war	336
This proper termination must go beyond the date of the destruction of Jerusalem at least	338
Misapprehension of the prophecy in this part of its predictions, ascribable to what inaccuracy of the Bible version	339
Meaning of the Hebrew, "And the end thereof shall be with a flood"	340
The idea which predominates in this part of the prophecy, after what point of time not that of the destruction of Jerusalem	341
Supposed allusion in the "Overspreading of abominations," and in our Saviour's reference to the βδελύγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, in the prophecy on the mount	ibid.
The obscurity of this part of the prophecy, due to what cause ...	343
Amended version of these texts	344
Objections to the Bible version	345

Explanation and illustration of the phrase "Wing of abominations"	347
Ensigns of the Roman armies of what two kinds	348
Objects of divine worship to the legions	ibid.
Abominations in the eyes of the Jews	ibid.
First of the second class of events in the prophecy, "Messiah the Prince"	350
Messiah the prince, to be understood of his advent	351
The advent of Messiah, whether his birth or his appearance in his public ministry	352
Proper sense of the Hebrew, rendered by "Prince"	355
Confirmation of the above conclusion by the consideration of the purposes, specified at the outset as the object of the weeks ...	357
Final end of the Messiah's coming into the world generally	358
First three clauses of ver. 25, and marginal variations upon them ..	359
Proper sense of the Hebrew, rendered, "to finish," or "to restrain" ..	360
Proper sense of the Hebrew, rendered by "transgression"	361
Proper sense of the Hebrew, rendered by "sins"	ibid.
Proper sense of the Hebrew, rendered by "iniquity"	362
Analogy between these several subjects of the acts specified of each, and the acts themselves	364
Proper sense of the Hebrew, rendered by, "to make reconciliation"	ibid.
General import of all these clauses taken in conjunction	366
Fourth clause, "To bring in everlasting righteousness"	ibid.
Fifth clause, "To seal up the vision and prophecy"	368
Proper sense of the word, rendered by "to seal"	ibid.
Proper sense of the word, rendered by "prophecy"	369
General sense of the clause	ibid.
Sixth and last clause, "To anoint the Most Holy"	370
Uction or anointing here alluded to, to be distinguished from the unction at the baptism	ibid.
Objection to the Bible version of "the Most Holy"	371
Holy of holies, why the designation here chosen to describe our Saviour, and at what point of time	372

Second event of this class, "The cutting off of Messiah"	372
Proper sense of the word, rendered by "cutting off"	373
Rejection of Messiah by his people, as the immediate cause of his death, declared by this part of the prophecy	374
Confirmation of this conclusion by the proper meaning of the Hebrew clause, rendered by "But not for himself"	375
Version of these words by Theodotion	ibid.
Proper sense of the Hebrew פָּנָא	377
Interval, between the appearing of Messiah and his being cut off, necessarily implied in this part of the prophecy, and to what to be supposed devoted	379
Third event of this class, "The confirmation of the covenant with many"	381
Objection to the Bible version	382
The covenant in question not the covenant with Abraham, or at Horeb.	383
The confirmation of the covenant with many, the preaching of formal Christianity to the Jews	ibid.
The confirming this covenant for <i>one</i> week, the preaching of formal Christianity to the Jews for seven years	384
Distinction between preaching Christianity to the Jews exclusively, and not exclusively	385
Christianity preached to the Jews <i>seven</i> years in the former sense	386
Summary of the progress of the Gospel dispensation, beginning with the Jews and ending with the Gentiles; shewing its character to have been exclusiveness, gradually relaxed and made inclusive	ibid.
Fourth event of this class, "The cessation of sacrifice and oblation"	387
Objections to the Bible text version	388
Whether a reference to the week last mentioned is implied by the presence of the article before the week here specified.	389
Proper sense of the Hebrew rendered by "midst"	ibid.
The presence of the article to be accounted for <i>virtute termini</i> , or <i>virtute materiæ</i> , on what principle	391

Objection to the Bible version of the word, rendered by "oblation".....	393
Version of Theodotion and the Septuagint by σπονδή.....	394
General meaning and comprehension of the two words, rendered "sacrifice" and "oblation," severally and conjointly.....	ibid.
Specific sense of the same two words, descriptive of what.....	396
The thing implied in either of these cases by the cessation in question, what.....	ibid.
Point of time in the period of the half week, at which this event was to take place, whether determined by the prophecy or not....	397
The event in question, the effect of our Saviour's death and Passion.....	398
Our Saviour's <i>hour</i> what, and whether to be understood with a special reference to the prophecy of the seventy weeks.....	399
The length of the Messiah's personal ministry determined in this clause of the prophecy.....	ibid.
Why the determination of this period should have been reserved for this part of its disclosures.....	400
General amended version of the prophecy of the seventy weeks, in conformity to the conclusions established.....	403
Fulfilment of its various predictions shewn in brief, by a comparison with the event—First, of the particulars relating to the facts of the Christian ministry.....	404
Secondly, of the particulars relating to the facts of the Jewish war.....	406
Remarkable analogy between the distance from each other, at which these two lines were respectively brought to a close, and the distance from each other, at which they respectively began....	406
Argument thence deducible that the detachment of the first seven weeks from the remainder, was with a prospective view to the termination of the second of these two lines hereafter.....	408
Importance of the prophecy of the seventy weeks to chronology both profane and sacred.....	409

Importance of the same prophecy to every scheme of a Gospel Harmony, or digest of the apostolical history in the Acts and the Epistles 410

Conclusion 413

DISSERTATION XX.

On the Date of Trajan's Expedition into the East. 415—426

Distinction of Simon the Cananite, and Simon son of Cleopas, necessary to reconcile the accounts concerning each—Double date of the martyrdom of the latter 415

Martyrdom of Ignatius, connected by Eusebius with that of Simon son of Cleopas—Reason of this connection probably what—Falseness of this presumption 415—416

Date of the martyrdom, according to the Acta—Too near to the persecution of Domitian, to be consistent with general probability—Difficulty arising from the supposed presence of Trajan in the East at the time of the martyrdom, according to the Acta—Triumphus Dacici of Trajan—True reason of Ignatius' being sent to suffer at Rome, probably his being a Roman citizen—Latin words in his Epistles—No allusion in his Epistles to the presence of Trajan in the East—Peace restored to the church by his condemnation—No reason to suppose that the bishop of Jerusalem suffered with him 416—417

Particular consideration of the question, whether Trajan was or was not in the East, in the ninth or tenth year of his reign.

Trajan not yet in the East, when Pliny was proconsul of Bithynia, Pliny, not yet proconsul of Bithynia, before the twelfth or thirteenth of Trajan, or later.

Epistles of Pliny—Allusion to the death of Verginius Rufus—Allusion to the monument to Verginius, post decimum mortis annum—Place of this allusion in the course of proceedings against Varenus—Accusation of Varenus when instituted, and time taken up by the course of it—Order of the letters of Pliny, and date from which they begin—First nine books written before his proconsulate, and first six before U. C. 860—Date of the arrival of Pliny in his province, and length of his continuance there—Birthday of Trajan, and difficulty connected with the received date of his

death—The Votorum Nuncupatio—Birthday of Cicero—Resulting conclusion of the time when Pliny was in his province, and Trajan still at Rome—Acta of Bassus—Calvus the predecessor of Pliny 418—423

Double expedition of Trajan, according to Tillemont—Chronology of the reign of Trajan, as fixed by Eckhel—Dates of the beginnings and endings of the two Dacian wars—Highway through the Pontine marshes—Dedication of Trajan's pillar—No year open to the expedition before U. C. 866 or 867—Probable that Trajan set out in the spring of U. C. 867, and had made one campaign before the earthquake at Antioch, U. C. 868 423—424

Quotation from the Epistles of Ignatius in Dionysius the Areopagite—Answer of Maximus to the objection thence taken to the genuineness of his works—Ignatius, the second bishop of Antioch—Treatise of Theodorus the presbyter, to vindicate the genuineness of the works of Dionysius..... 424—426

DISSERTATION XXI.

On the Chronology of the Epistles of Pliny 427—454

Epistles of Pliny put together in regular order..... 427—428

Order of the Epistles, from i. 1. to ii. 9. U. C. 849, to U. C. 850—Hiatus from U. C. 850 to U. C. 852—Proofs of that hiatus—Accusation of Marcus Priscus and Cæcilius Classicus—Pliny applied to when præfectus ærarii, U. C. 852—Causes tried before Trajan when Pliny was consul designatus, U. C. 853—Publicum opus of Pliny, at Tifernum Tiberinum—Accusation of Bæbius Massa—Probable causes of the hiatus in question—Date of Pliny's appointment to the office of præfectus ærarii 428—431

Order of the Epistles, from ii. 12. to iii. 21—Second hiatus between the close of the third and beginning of the fourth book, from U. C. 853 *exeunte* to U. C. 856 *medium*.

Proofs of that hiatus—Prosocer of Pliny, and Epistles to him—Pliny, whether twice married or thrice—Date of the loss of his first or his second wife—No proof of any second marriage before U. C. 854—Date of the death of Julius Frontinus, and appointment of Pliny to the auguratus—First Dacian war of Trajan—No allusion to Trajan's Dacian wars in Pliny until both were

over—Probable causes of the second hiatus in the order of the letters—Hiatus exactly coextensive with the duration of the first Dacian war 431—434

Order of the Epistles, from iv. 1. to the end of the ninth book, U. C. 856 to U. C. 862..... 435

Accusation of Bassus, U. C. 856—Case of Marcellinus, and cause of Corellia and Cæcilius, U. C. 856 or 857—Suppression of the Gymnicus agon apud Viennenses, U. C. 857—Age of Pliny at this time, and before—Case of Nominatus, U. C. 858—Pliny associated with Cornutus Tertullus, in some office connected with the roads or watercourses—Pliny, curator alvei Tyberis—High road of Trajan through the Pontine marshes, U. C. 859 or 860—Portus Trajani at Centumcellæ, U. C. 860 435—438

Case of Varenus, U. C. 858 to 860—Case of Bruttianus and Atticinus, U. C. 859—Visit of Pliny to Trajan at Centumcellæ, U. C. 860, and consequent confutation of the Acta Ignatii—Distinction of Pomponius Rufus from Varenus Rufus—Bithynia at this time an imperial province—Proconsuls two years in office—Date of the succession of Varenus to Bassus 438—442

Order of the Epistles, from U. C. 860 *medio*, to U. C. 861 *ab auctumno*—Case of Afranius Dexter 442—443

Order of the Epistles, from autumn U. C. 861 to autumn U. C. 862, the end of the ninth book—Government of Bætica, of Calestrius Tyro—Letter of Pliny to Paullinus—Agri or lands of Pliny apud Tuscos—Leases of Pliny, and renewals of them—Lustral terms of the granting of leases—U. C. 852 and U. C. 862, when Pliny was renewing his leases, lustral years—Droughts at the time of the accession of Trajan, and before—Prædia materna of Pliny, and their site 443—447

Resulting conclusion that the ninth book of Pliny ends with the autumn of U. C. 862—Inference hence deducible that Pliny could not be sent into Bithynia before U. C. 863 at the earliest. . 447—448

Date of the proconsulate of Pliny, U. C. 855 or 856—Disproved by the case of Callidromus—History of that case—Susagus—Decabalus—Losses of the Romans in the Dacian war—Pacorus and

Osroes, or Chosroes, and civil war in Parthia before the expedition of Trajan—Laberius Maximus	448—449
Date in question disproved also by the date of the death of Pliny's prosocer, Fabatus	450
Date of the proconsulate of Varenus, U. C. 852—Inconsistent with the history of Dio Chrysostom—Particulars of that history, from his banishment under Domitian, to his return to Prusa, under Trajan—Dio at Prusa, U. C. 856 to 858, but not U. C. 852 to 854—Visit of Dio to the Olympia—Dacian war of Domitian—Date of the expulsion of the philosophers from Rome—Epictetus—Dispute of Dio with the citizens of Prusa, when Pliny was in office in Bithynia.	450—453
Proconsulate of Calvus, the predecessor of Pliny—Proconsulate of Pliny, and its date—Third hiatus in the order of the Epistles, between the ninth and tenth books—Internal evidence of that hiatus—Corollary from the above conclusion, that Pliny's persecution of Christianity must bear date U. C. 865	453—454

DISSERTATION XXII.

<i>Computation of Sabbatic years</i>	455—485
Date of the first sabbatic year, or of the sabbatic cycle, resulting from the coincidences established with respect to sabbatic years—Objection to the principle on which these coincidences are founded—Sabbatic years in question determined without any reference to their place in the sabbatic cycle—Example of this in the sabbatic year in the sixteenth of Hezekiah, B.C. 709 to 708—Dates of the sabbatic cycle, distinct from this, inapplicable to these two facts, that B. C. 709—708 coincided with the sixteenth of Hezekiah, and each with a sabbatic year—Date of archbishop Usher, and the English Bible—Error in the date of the Exodus, compensated by an opposite error in the date of the foundation of the temple.	455—459
Sabbatic years distinct from this of B. C. 709—708, and independently determined also—Cumulative proof hence resulting of the correctness of the principles on which the computation is founded—Sabbatic years as exactly observed after the captivity as before—John Hyrcanus esteemed by the Jewish church a prophet—Accuracy of the same computations shewn by their repeatedly stopping short on the verge of a contradiction	459—461

Table of sabbatic years, from the first of Saul to the last of Zedekiah 461—462

Illustration of the accuracy of the table—First year of Gideon—Capture and restoration of the ark, and death of Eli—Inauguration of Saul—Death of Ishbosheth—Plague in the reign of David—First of Rehoboam 462—464

Drought in the reign of Ahab—Marriage of Ahab and Jezebel—Reign of Ethbaal or Ithobal at Tyre—Succession of kings of Tyre from Menander, from the first of Hiram to the seventh of Pygmalion—Date of the foundation of Carthage, in the seventh of Pygmalion so determined—Other dates for the same—An Hiram contemporary with David, as well as with Solomon—Called Abibalus, by Dios and Menander..... 464—471

Sabbatic year, B. C. 604 to 603, the first of Nebuchadnezzar—Consideration of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21—Seventy sabbatic cycles reckoned back from B. C. 604 fall out in the first of Saul—Consequences of supposing the seventy years' captivity a compensatory provision for the neglect of seventy sabbatic years—Absolute duration of the term of the rest of the land, bears date from what time—Coincidence deducible from this fact, with respect to the fifth of Rehoboam and the invasion of Judæa by Shishak 471—474

Hundred and forty-second sabbatic year, and consideration of Haggai ii. 10. 18—Received date of the first of Darius Hystaspis, inconsistent with the fact that his second year was not a *sabbatic* year—Dates of the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah in the years of Darius, and inference thence resulting, of the beginning of the years of Darius in the order of the sacred months... 474—475

Inductive proof from Herodotus, that the reign of Xerxes began, and that of Darius expired, B. C. 486, as deduced backwards from the date of the battle of Salamis—Expedition of Xerxes truly began with the march from Susa, B. C. 481, and not the march from Sardis, B. C. 490—Time of the arrival at Sardis, the close of the autumnal quarter, B. C. 481: as proved more especially from the time of the mission of the heralds, and the time when they met Xerxes on his march into Greece—Eclipse at the time of the

march from Sardis, and inconsistency upon this head between historical testimony and astronomical calculations	475—478
Inductive proof of the same conclusion, from the date of the battle of Marathon	478—479
Reigns of Cyrus, Cambyzes, and Smerdis, before the accession of Darius, all capable of adjustment between B. C. 559 and B. C. 522—Reigns of subsequent kings of Persia, not affected by raising the first of Darius from B. C. 521 to B. C. 522	479—480
Consistency of these conclusions with the <i>prima facie</i> sense and meaning of Haggai ii. 10. 18—Testimony of Herodotus reconciled with that of Haggai and Zechariah—Remarks on the canon of Ptolemy, and probability that from its peculiar rule of reckoning it should be liable to trifling errors of excess or defect—Principle of its reckoning adopted for the earlier reigns from necessity—Continued for the later for consistency's sake—Recorded eclipses in the reign of Darius or Cambyzes, not inconsistent with the above conclusions	480—484
Julian date of Chisleu 24, B. C. 521, Sunday, Nov. 28—Second temple begun on Tuesday August 31, B. C. 521; and finished on Thursday Feb. 19, B. C. 516	482—484
Further argument of the assumed date of the sabbatic cycle, from the fact of the coincidence of the first sabbatic year, with the three hundred and fifty-seventh mundane sabbatic year	484—485

DISSERTATION XXIII.

On the Population of Judæa in the Time of our Saviour.

486—507

Survey of the population of Judæa, at different periods of its history in the Old Testament—Numbers at the Exodus, and Eisodus—At the civil war between the tribe of Benjamin and the rest of the tribes—In the reign of Saul—In the reign of David—In the reigns of Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat—Numbers reported by Josephus, who returned with Zerubbabel—Observations on the preceding review, and the variableness of the population of Judæa at different times	486—490
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Populousness of Judæa at the Gospel era—Examples in point—
 Number of towns in Galilee, and average population of each—
 Extent of Palestine from north to south, and east to west—
 Population of all Judæa, west and east of the Jordan, not less
 than ten millions 491—493

Confirmation of this conclusion by other facts—Number of towns in
 Palestine in the time of Hadrian, and average population of each
 —Numbers who attended at the passover, U. C. 819— $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ of
 Jerusalem computed by Josephus at three millions—Numbers
 who perished at the siege of Jerusalem—No just criterion of the
 entire population of the country, and why 493—496

Population of Jerusalem in particular—Magnitude and population of
 Jerusalem in the time of Manetho, and of Hecatæus of Abdera— $\Phi\nu$ -
 $\lambda\alpha\iota$ of the priests in the time of Hecatæus, and in that of Josephus
 —Jerusalem in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes—Population of
 Jerusalem at the siege of Titus, according to Tacitus—Estimates of
 the circuit of Jerusalem—Jerusalem of Ezekiel—Size of Bezetha
 in proportion to that of the rest of the city—Circuit of Jerusalem,
 exclusive of Bezetha—Proportion of Jerusalem to Alexandria or
 Antioch, and calculation of its population on that princi-
 ple 496—499

Population of Judæa at the Gospel era, nearly on a par with that of
 Egypt—Size and population of ancient Thebes—Population of
 Egypt in the time of Herodotus—Number of cities in Egypt, in
 the reign of Amasis—Number of cities in the dominions of Pto-
 lemy Philadelphus, according to Theocritus—Population of Egypt
 in the reign of Ptolemy Soter, according to Diodorus—Population
 of Egypt in his own time—Various reading of the text of Diodo-
 rus—Decay of population in the time between Ptolemy Soter and
 Diodorus, not peculiar to Egypt 499—503

Prosperity of Egypt from the reign of Augustus to the destruction of
 Jerusalem—Proportion of births in Africa and Egypt—Exposure
 of infants unknown in Egypt—Population of Egypt in the time
 of Agrippa the younger, U. C. 819—Poll-tax on the inhabitants
 of Egypt and other parts of the empire—Population of Alexandria
 in particular—General population of Egypt, what. . . . 503—505

Number of the Jews in Egypt, from Ptolemy Philadelphus to

Trajan—Proportion of the population of Egypt in general to that of Jerusalem in particular. 505—506

Populousness of Galilee supplies an answer to the question, Why the ministry of our Lord was confined in a great measure to that country. 506—507

DISSERTATION XXIV.

On the Computation of Roman Hours 508—515

Computation of Roman hours began at sunrise and ended at sunrise—Scheme of Roman and modern hours, proposed by Dr. Townson—At variance with this hypothesis—Examination of this scheme 508

Reception of Roman hours in Judæa a proof that they began and ended at sunset—Sunrise, the intermediate point of time between a Jewish evening and morning—Mode of notifying the coming in and going out of the sabbath, among the Jews 508—509

Testimony of John xi. 9, 10—Testimony of Mark xiii. 35—Division of night watches among the Jews—Morning watch began at what time—Four night watches not unknown to the Greeks 509—511

Distinction of *πρωτὴ* and *πρωτὰ*—Testimony of Matthew xx. 9 to 12—Sunset the close of the day at Rome, according to the laws of the twelve tables—Proper sense of *crepusculum*—Early habits of the ancients, and use made of the time between dawn and sunrise 511—513

Foundation of the mistake of Dr. Townson, the confounding the hour *current* with the hour *complete*—*Usus loquendi* on this point, anciently and still, what—Passage from Palladius, *De Re Rustica*. 513—514

Epigram on the statue of Memnon in Egypt—A proof that the first hour began at sunrise—Testimonies from the Scholia on Aratus—Testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, &c. 514—515

DISSERTATION XXV.

On the journey of St. Paul from Philippi to Jerusalem, U. C. 809 516—524

Objection, that St. Paul's journey could not have been accomplished in the time supposed 516

Rate of a ship's sailing anciently—*Diurna* and *nocturna navigatio* distinct—A day and a night's sail never estimated at less than one thousand stades, and frequently at twelve hundred and fifty—Examples in point to both these assertions—Course of St. Paul may be estimated at one hundred and twenty-five, or one hundred and fifty Roman miles, in a day and a night 516—520

Particulars of the journey—Departure from Philippi, Monday, March 27—Arrival at Troas—*Mía τοῦ σαββάτου*, before the departure to Assus—Distance of Assus from Troas—Arrival at Miletus, Thursday, April 13—Distance of Ephesus from Miletus—Arrival at Patara, Monday, April 17—Comparison of Lucan's account of the voyage of Pompey with St. Luke's of St. Paul's 520—523

Arrival at Tyre, Thursday, April 20—Arrival at Cæsarea, April 30—Distance of Cæsarea from Jerusalem—Arrival at Jerusalem, on the eve of Pentecost, Monday, May 8. 523—524

Particulars and dates of the twelve days between the arrival of St. Paul, and the examination before Felix, Sunday, May 21. . 524

DISSERTATION XXVI.

On the rate of a day's journey 525—530

Variations in the statement of the measure of a day's journey, and to what possibly due—An ordinary day's journey may be estimated at what, and a journey *ἀνδρὶ ἐξῶνφ*, at what—Case of the *ἡμεροδρόμοι* of antiquity, necessarily excepted 525—526

Examples and authorities, in proof or support of the above assertions	526—529
Inference deducible from the whole, of the probable length of our Lord's day's journey, before he stopped with Zachæus	529—530

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

DISSERTATIONS.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XV.

On the Census Orbis at the Nativity.

Vide Dissertation xiv. vol. i. page 544. line 11.

THERE is a well-known passage in Suidas, relating to some census in the time of Augustus, which, as it stands in Kuster's edition of his Lexicon, is to the following effect: "Ὅτι Αὐγούστος Καῖσαρ, δόξαν αὐτῷ, πάντας τοὺς οἰκήτορας Ῥωμαίων κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀριθμεῖ, βουλόμενος γινῶναι πόσον ἐστὶ πλῆθος. καὶ εὐρίσκονται οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων οἰκοῦντες υἱ'. μυριάδες καὶ χίλιοι ιζ'. ἄνδρες^a:" upon which the editor observes, that Suidas has confounded *censum urbis* with a census of the empire; as it would be ridiculous to suppose that the population of the empire amounted to no more than 4,101,017 men. Here, not to stop to point out the impropriety of not distinguishing the *census urbis*, from the *census civium* or *census populi*—the justness of the criticism, it may be said, is founded on the supposed integrity of the text of Suidas; in which case, it is an obvious remark, that what would appear an absurd and ridiculous statement at the present day, must have appeared equally so in the time of Suidas. No one could be so ignorant in the time of Suidas, any more than now, as

^a Αὐγούστος Καῖσαρ.

not to perceive that the sum of four millions could not express the population of the Roman empire, either in the reign of Augustus, or at any period subsequent to it. The criticism supposes too that the statement comes from Suidas himself; whereas it is much more reasonable to conjecture that he took it from another quarter, and has given us either the words or the substance of some authority more ancient than himself. It is ushered in by the mark of a quotation, ὅτι. Hence, though we may not be able to trace the fragment to its origin, yet that it was taken from some historical work, or other document, which Suidas had seen, and might quote, there can be little question*. In this case, and if his text exhibits the words of that more ancient document, such as he first extracted them; others besides Suidas must be included in the same charge of mistaking a *census urbis* for a *census orbis*: and this mistake in a professed historian, or in any document of an historical character, would be much more extraordinary than in a mere grammarian, and in the work of a lexicographer.

It appears to me, however, that whatever fact the assertion may relate to, the last thing with which it can reasonably be confounded, is a *census urbis*, or a *census civium*.

For first; it attributes the census to the *beneficium* of the emperor. Αὐγουστος Καῖσαρ, δόξαν ἀντῷ, or, as we might contend it should be expressed, δόξαν

* Syncellus, i. 602.17: ὁ αὐτὸς τοὺς οἰκήτορας Ῥώμης κατὰ πρόσ-
ωπον ἀριθμήσας εἶπεν οἰκοῦντας ἀν-
τὴν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας γ'. καὶ αλξ'.
The Latin version has the same
numbers.

This passage looks like an
abridgment of that in Suidas;

but as Suidas is a later author
than Syncellus, it is probable
that both took their statement
from the same original. Syn-
cellus is speaking of a census by
Augustus; so that his numbers,
as they stand, are undoubtedly
corrupt.

αὐτῷ: Augustus Cæsar, because it had seemed good to himself, did so and so. The measure, whatever it was, was the result of the imperial will and pleasure: Augustus consulted by it nothing but his own humour and inclination. Now this is not the way in which the regular *census civium* would be said to take its origin; but it is very like the way in which St. Luke describes the census at the Nativity to have been originated. The *census civium*, from the time of its first institution, was or should have been of regular occurrence every five years: and the number of times, for which it was actually celebrated, between the first census in the reign of Servius Tullius, and the last in the reign of Vespasian, is on record^{*b}. But the census at the Nativity is ascribed, like this of Suidas, to a δόγμα—an edict, decree, or beneplacitum of the emperor: ἐξήλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου.

Secondly; it was in its own nature merely a κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀρίθμησις, and it had for its object merely τὸ γνῶναι πόσον ἐστὶ πλῆθος: there is nothing either in the description of it, or in the purposes assigned to it, which can identify it with a proper Roman census, ἀπογραφαὶ or τιμήσεις, like the *census civium*; the most essential criterion of which, as we stated elsewhere, was its connexion with the valuation of property. The same distinction was shewn to characterise the census at the Nativity. That also was certainly an enrolment *per capita*; a κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀρίθμησις; but very probably was nothing more.

Thirdly; the whole Roman empire was affected by this census; and so was it by that in St. Luke. I en-

* For the care with which served, see Dionysius Hal. Ant. the *Tabulæ Censoriæ* were pre- Rom. i. 74, 75.

^b Censorinus, De Die Natali, 18.

deavoured to prove this from the sense of τὴν οἰκουμένην, in the one; and it is proved by the phrases τοὺς οἰκήτορας Ῥωμαίων, and οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων οἰκοῦντες, in the other. The last of these shews us that the former is corrupt; (which indeed is sufficiently clear without proof;) and at the same time how it ought to be corrected. If the text, as it stands, is sound in the latter instance, that of οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων οἰκοῦντες, the former, which is plainly tantamount to it, must have stood, τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς Ῥωμαίων. In this case there is the same ellipsis in either instance; which the abettors of the criticism of Kuster would perhaps say was πόλεως or πόλιν, but those who dissented from it, with much greater reason, might contend was ἀρχῆς or ἀρχήν, or some equivalent term.

These circumstances of distinction, I think, are sufficient to prove that, whatever the assertion in the text of Suidas may relate to, it is not to a proper Roman census, much less to a *census urbis*; but to something much more akin to what we ourselves, at the present day, would understand by the mention of a census. It follows therefore that the author of the statement, if he asserts a matter of fact, cannot be justly charged with confounding the two kinds of census together. The same criteria, too, which discriminate this census of Suidas from a proper Roman census, identify it with that in St. Luke. Unless then the former could be shewn to be ultimately derived from the latter; that is, unless the authority which is followed by Suidas, was not altogether different from that of St. Luke, the two assertions corroborate one another, and each of them must have been founded in fact.

We may observe that the allusion to *this* fact in Suidas is altogether independent of that which relates

to the twenty delegates, asserted under the article 'Ἀπογραφῇ before: and this implies that the former was not derived from the same authority as the latter, and perhaps that the facts in themselves were perfectly distinct events. We may observe also that as the census is ascribed to the *sole* pleasure of Augustus, and yet must have been enjoined by virtue of some *censorian*, as well as some *imperial* authority; the time when such a measure would be most likely to take its origin from him, would be when he was exercising the censorian authority *alone*, and not when he was exercising it with a colleague. Now this was the case with the middle census, U. C. 746; but not with either of the extreme ones, U. C. 726, or U. C. 767. Moreover, if a proper census had been held so recently as U. C. 746, it is not a probable supposition that a census of any kind would be again enjoined before the arrival of the next *lustrum*, which would be U. C. 750, or later.

Accordingly, John Malala, the historian of Antioch, has a singular statement^c, which if true would both agree with the account of Suidas, and confirm the presumption in question, by establishing the fact of a census U. C. 749, or U. C. 750. In the thirty-ninth year of his reign, and in the tenth month of that year, Augustus, says he, issued an edict, commanding the whole empire ἀπογραφῆναι. The thirty-ninth year of the reign of Augustus, according to Malala, began U. C. 749, and the tenth month of that year, according to the same authority, was the month of July, U. C. 750. I do not vouch for the truth of this assertion; but I will observe that, if any such edict as the edict alluded to, Luke ii. 1, did actually emanate from Augustus before the birth of Christ, and Christ was actually born in the spring of U. C. 750; it must have

^c Lib. ix. 226. l. 1.

been received in the provinces either early that same year, or in the latter half of the year before it.

There is a circumstance mentioned by Josephus, in his account of the proceedings at the council of Berytus, and consequently belonging to this period of the year, U.C. 749, which, after these previous observations, will appear critical and significant. Among those who presided at the council, besides Saturninus the governor of Syria, and Volumnius the next in authority to him, he specifies the presence of οἱ περὶ Πεδά-
μιον πρέσβεις; all of whom assumed the chief place according to the instructions of Augustus^d.

It is an obvious question, who were this Pedanius and his fellow ambassadors or legates, who are thus distinguished from the proper presiding officers of Syria, and yet were at this time on the spot as well as they, and invested with an authority equal to theirs? That there might be in the reign of Augustus a real character of that name, is indisputably proved by the following facts. There was one Gens Pedania at Rome, whose *cognomen* was Costa^e: another, or a branch of that, whose *cognomen* was Secundus; one of which family was Urbis Præfectus U.C. 814^f. Pliny mentions a Lucius Pedanius who was sometime consul^g; and Josephus a Roman knight of that name, who distinguished himself at the siege of Jerusalem^h.

Now this Pedanius and his colleagues, whosoever they were, cannot be confounded with the legates of Saturninus. Those legates are mentioned in the next section by their proper name of πρεσβευταὶ not πρέσβεις; and are spoken of as *two* in number. Σύμφη-
φοι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβευταὶ γίνονται: had they been

^d Bell. Jud. i. xxvii. 2
^e Bell. Jud. vi. ii. 8.

^f Tacitus, Annales, xiv. 42, 43.

^e Eckhel, v. 269. Tacitus, Historiæ, ii. 71. Cf. Valerius Max. iii. ii. 20.

^g H. N. x. 16.

more than two, or had the sense intended been that two of his legates concurred with Saturninus, and the third dissented from him, this sense would have required, σύμψηφοι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ δύο τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, or καὶ δύο τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, γίνονται. The truth is, the legates were *three* in number; but they were all the sons of Saturninus, as even the War itself in the same passage impliesⁱ; and they were all attending upon their father in a common capacity, and present at the council along with him. Μετ' ἐκείνον οἱ Σατουρνίνου παῖδες, εἶποντο γὰρ αὐτῷ τρεῖς ὄντες πρεσβευταὶ, τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀπεφῆναντο^k.

If however Pedanius was neither the same with Saturninus, nor with one of his legates, nor yet with Volumnius, and notwithstanding was the equal of both the governors themselves, and present in Syria, at this time, as well as they; is it unreasonable to conclude that he was there on a special mission, and that this mission might possibly concern the census which preceded the Nativity? It is no objection to this supposition, that the Gens Pedania was plebeian; and that Pedanius was probably only of equestrian dignity. Such an one was more likely to be chosen, for the execution of a measure like this, than a person of patrician family or of senatorian rank. But it makes in favour of it, that whosoever he was, and for what purpose soever he had been sent, he was in Syria before the council was held at Berytus; and his mission concerned that country rather than Judæa. I do not think, as I before observed, that Syria had ever yet been subject to a proper Roman census, or was so perhaps until U. C. 760, when Quirinus or Quirinius, a man of plebeian extraction^l, but of consular dignity, was sent to carry the first measure of the kind into effect. For

ⁱ i. xxvii. 3.^k Ant. xvi. xi. 3.^l Tacitus, Annales, iii. 48.

any other purpose, which partook of the nature of a proper census, but did not go to the same extent as that, if commissioners must be sent into the provinces expressly, it is more probable that such persons as Pedanius would be sent, than not; especially into those provinces which were governed by magistrates of superior rank and authority, at the time. The jurisdiction of Pedanius in Syria would consequently not supersede, but merely coincide and cooperate with that of its regular governor, Saturninus.

The objection, which might be urged from the silence of contemporary historians, as I before observed, is neutralized, if not obviated, by the fact of an hiatus in Dio, just where the account of a census like this, if noticed at all, ought to have come in. The fact of this hiatus is unquestionable. The mission of Caius Cæsar into the East follows in the course of the history, as it now stands, upon U. C. 748, or U. C. 749^m; and the mention both of his burial and of that of his brother Lucius follows directly afterⁿ, at a time which coincides with U. C. 757, the first year of Augustus' fourth decennium. The same coincidence is confirmed by the Pisan Cenotaph, which places the death of Lucius Cæsar in the twenty-fifth of Augustus' tribunitian power, answering to U. C. 755^o, and the death of Caius in the twenty-sixth, answering to U. C. 757. Caius was still at Rome, U. C. 751, when Augustus decided on the will of Herod^p; if not, according to Suetonius, when Augustus entered on his thirteenth consulate^q. Orosius seems to place his mission in U. C. 752^r, but even this allusion to it may be understood of U. C. 753. There is extant a letter to him

^m lv. 9. 11. ⁿ Ibid. 12.

ii. 4.

^q Augustus, 26.

^o liii. 32.

^r vii. 3.

^p Ant. Jud. xvii. ix. 5. Bell. ii.

from Augustus, written while he was still alive and absent, which that emperor wrote on his birthday, when he had completed his sixty-third year; and consequently in the month of September, U. C. 754^s. Nor was Caius Cæsar, and perhaps not even Lucius, yet dead, when Tiberius returned from Rhodes, in the year U. C. 755^t. The Pisan Cenotaph also shews that Caius discharged his consulate in the East; and therefore was there in U. C. 754*.

The true year of his mission was, consequently, neither earlier than U. C. 752, nor later than U. C. 753: and Velleius Patereulus, who places it a little after Augustus' thirteenth consulate, and the banishment of Julia, both in U. C. 752, implies the same thing^u. There is, consequently, an omission in Dio, extending from the year U. C. 748, to the year U. C. 756, or U. C. 757 †, within which the account of a ge-

* The expedition in question was just preparing when Ovid wrote his *Ars Amandi*: i. 177. *Ecce parat Cæsar domito, quod defuit, orbi | Addere: nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris. | Parthe, dabis poenas: Crassi, gaudete sepulti, | Signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus: | Ultor adest: primisque ducem profitetur in armis: | Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer. | Parcite natales, timidi, numerare Deorum: | Cæsaribus virtus contigit ante diem. Ibid. 191: Auspiciis animisque patris puer arma movebis: | Et vinces animis auspiciisque patris. | Tale rudimentum tanto sub nomine debes; | Nunc juvenum princeps, deinde future senum. | Cum tibi sint fratres; fratres ulciscere læsos: | Cumque pater tibi sit: jura tuere patris. | Induit arma tibi*

genitor patriæque tuusque: | Hostis ab invito regna parente rapit. Cf. seqq....228. Also *De Remedio Amoris*, 155. The whole strain of these allusions demonstrates that the expedition in question was that of Caius, U. C. 752 or 753, not of Tiberius, U. C. 734. Caius Cæsar was but nineteen years of age, U. C. 753, whereas Tiberius was forty-one. The time of the *Ars Amandi*, and of the *Remedium Amoris*, is thus determined likewise.

† Dio, lv. 10. speaks of a largess of 60 denarii or drachmæ apiece to the people, as though it followed upon, or took place in, U. C. 748, which the Ancyran monument proves to have been really distributed U. C. 752.

It appears also from cap. 10

^s Aulus Gellius, xv. 7.
¹⁵ Dio, lv. 9. 11.

^t Velleius Pat. ii. 103. Suetonius, Tiberius, 13, 14,
^u ii. 100, 101.

neral census, if any such took place in U. C. 749 or 750, ought to have come. Not but that, if the object of this census was no more than merely an enrollment, however general, with a view to ascertain the population of the empire, it might possibly be passed over, as not sufficiently important to deserve particular notice.

To revert then to the numbers in Suidas. If a Greek writer were required to express, according to the idiom of his own language, and without the use of numeral characters, the sum of forty millions; his most natural and obvious mode of expressing it would be by τετρακισχίλιαι μυριάδες. But if, for the sake of abbreviation, it were necessary to express the same by numeral characters, I do not see in what other way this could be effected, than by means of δ , μυριάδες; a form of notation which might easily be confounded with ν , especially if the iota was *ascript*, as in $\delta\iota$, instead of *subscript*, as in $\delta,$; or if both were expressed in capital letters by ΔI ; for Δ rudely and imperfectly formed might scarcely be distinguishable from Υ . I submit it therefore to the judgment of the learned, whether, if the text of Suidas in this instance is to be pronounced unsound, the numeral characters ν may not be amended for $\delta,$; in which case the amount of the numbers will be *forty* millions, and not *four*.

We may observe moreover that these are called *ἄνδρες* in Greek; which answers to *men* in English, and to *viri* in Latin. Now by either of these denominations, *ἄνδρες* in the one language or *viri* in the other, none can be properly understood except *adults* of the male sex only: all of the female sex, whether adults or non-

and 11, that Julia was banished, and Caius sent into the East, this same year. Tacitus, also, Annales, i. 53, virtually places

the banishment of Julia fifteen years before U. C. 767, ergo, U. C. 752.

adults, and all of the male not yet arrived at maturity, would be alike excluded by them. The propriety of this mode of speaking is well illustrated by John vi. 10. Luke ix. 14. Mark vi. 44. compared with Matt. xiv. 21. The number of male adults in the Roman dominions, it would be thus implied, amounted to forty millions; the number of female adults would be equal to that of the male; and the number of adults and non-adults, whether male or female, put together, would at least be equal to as many as either of them separately. The gross amount of the population of the Roman empire, in the time of Augustus, might thus be computed, ὡς πλατεῖ λόγῳ, at one hundred and twenty millions.

It is not my intention to enter minutely upon the calculations which would be necessary to prove the general correctness of this last statement. Such an investigation would carry us too much into detail, and after all arrive only at probable conclusions, the certainty of which could never be placed beyond a question. There are parts of the Roman empire, in the time of Augustus, the population of which might be determined with tolerable exactness: and so far a foundation might be laid, on which to build in calculating that of the remainder. For by far the greatest part of the empire, however, we should have no data on which to proceed; though there is every reason, in my opinion, to believe that the world was much less populous, both in the reign of Augustus, and for many centuries afterwards, than some learned men have supposed. If any one will refer to Mr. Hume's Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations^x, he will see a variety of facts brought together, the tendency of which is to correct the common, but erroneous, notion on this subject; and to that collection a large addition

^x Political Essays, vol. ii. Essay xi.

of similar particulars might be made. Mr. Gibbon has occasion to make a general computation of the population of the empire, in the times of which we are here treating; and he also has estimated it at 120 millions, but not more ^y.

The nearest approximation to a general statement of the population of the empire, which I have met with, occurs in a passage of Diodorus, κατὰ εἰμαρμένης, in the Bibliotheca of Photius ^z; where it is said that the Roman dominions comprehended 300 nations, or even more. The age of Diodorus was about A.D. 381^a; and the empire, in his time, consisted of as great an extent of territory, as in that of Augustus: if not of a greater. An average of 500,000 to each of these nations, would imply a gross population of 150 millions of inhabitants; and an average of 400,000, one of 120 millions. Those who have attended to the statements of the numbers of particular nations, which not unfrequently occur in the writers belonging to this period, will not be misled by names; but will consider it exceedingly probable, that taking one nation with another, an average of four or five hundred thousand to each, would more than represent the total amount of all ^{*}.

* Though the natural tendency of population is to go on encreasing, under all circumstances, and against all possible impediments and checks from without; yet if we consider the manifold and almost innumerable calamities, to which the Roman empire was subjected, with little or no intermission, between the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and the reign of Jus-

tinian; partly from civil wars, partly from famine and pestilence, partly from earthquakes and inundations, partly from the inroads and ravages of barbarian invaders, (Cf. Philostorgius, xi. 7.) we shall see every reason to conclude that the empire under Justinian, could not have been much more populous than under the reign of Augustus.

In Procopius' *Historia Ar-*

^y Decline and Fall, vol. i. chap. 2. *ad sinistram*. Cf. line 23. and sqq.

^z Cod. 223. page 218. line 39, and sqq. ^a Vide Theodorit, iv. 25. 187. v. 4. 202. C. D: Socrates, v. 5. 262. A—264. D. vi. 3: 302. C: Sozomen, vii. 7. 711. D. 8.

713. A: Suidas, in Διδώπος.

Without, then, entering at large upon so wide, and perhaps so uncertain, a field of discussion, as the ge-

cana, cap. xviii. something like a calculation is attempted of the loss of life which the various parts of the empire had sustained from the beginning of that reign up to the date of the *Historia Arcana* itself: the sum total of which, as the effect of a variety of causes, is computed at the enormous amount of *μυριάδας μυριάδων μυρίας*. The passage of Procopius in question is cited by Suidas, p. 1848 (*Gaisfordii*): and the same numeral reading, *μυριάδας μυριάδων μυρίας*, extravagant as it may appear, occurs there also. This coincidence is so far a voucher that the text of Procopius at present exhibits these numbers as they proceeded from the author himself. It is not impossible, however, that in the interval between the time of Procopius and that of Suidas, (an interval not less than four or five hundred years) the text of the *Historia Arcana* might have become corrupted, at least in this particular instance: and that instead of *μυριάδας μυριάδων μυρίας*, the author originally wrote, *μυριάδα μυριάδων*, or *μυριάδας μυρίας*.

Ten thousand myriads of myriads, (*μυριάδες μυριάδων μυρίαί*) expressed according to our own notation of numbers, would be 1,000,000,000,000; that is, one million millions: a statement, so hyperbolical and extravagant, if literally understood, that we need not hesitate to suppose Procopius either intended to speak only in the most general terms, or if he meant his assertion to be literally understood, that he wrote one hundred millions. It is agreed upon all hands, that at no period of hu-

man history, much less at any period within the duration of the Roman imperial government, could the entire surface of the habitable world, much less so much of it as was comprehended by the Roman empire, have contained more than the thousandth part of this number of inhabitants, literally understood. The number of inhabitants which the world is supposed to contain at present, (when in all probability the amount of human population is greater than ever before, and certainly can scarcely be considered less,) is not estimated at a thousand millions of souls. Who, then, can believe that a thousand times this number perished in the Roman empire alone, in the days of Justinian? to say nothing of those who survived—who yet must have borne a certain proportion to the number of those who perished: for even Procopius himself does not mean to imply, that many as they might be who perished, during the reign in question, there were not many, if not as many also, who survived.

A consumption of human life during an interval of time, which at the utmost could not have been greater than from A. D. 527, the beginning of the reign of Justinian, to A. D. 565, its close, that is, thirty-eight years in all, and which Procopius himself does not suppose to have extended beyond the first thirty-two years of his reign, amounting to one hundred millions, would be something apparently extravagant and unexampled in itself, but it is moderate in com-

neral population of the empire, under Augustus; I shall confine myself, for the remainder of this disserta-

parison of a million of millions. If we proceed to the details also of this calculation, they will be found to be such as possibly to consist with a general sum total of one hundred millions; but to be utterly irreconcilable to the supposition of any greater result, much less such an one as a million of millions. Five millions of lives are supposed to have perished in Libya or Africa; and three times as many, within the same time, in Italy; Italy being reckoned thrice the size of Africa: and these are but twenty millions in all. Add to these the consumption of life by the annual inroads of barbarians, in the western part of the empire, over a space of nearly thirty-two years, at the rate of two hundred thousand per annum: or six millions, four hundred thousands in all. Let the general result be stated at twenty-seven millions in all. All this was chiefly the effect of war: and so far as we have yet considered it, confined to the western empire. But, in addition to this, we must take into account the effect of the same causes, war and the inroads of the barbarians, (particularly the destructive inroads of the Persians,) on the consumption of life in the eastern parts of the empire: the loss of life by earthquakes in each division of the empire, (the annual amount of which was truly considerable,) by inundations, by famines, by insurrections, by intestine feuds, or the strife of parties in particular places: and it will appear only reasonable to conclude that if twenty-seven millions perish-

ed by war alone in the western division of the empire, sixty millions must have perished, from that and from every other cause of the destruction of life, in conjunction, in both divisions of the empire.

But we have said nothing yet of the specific effect of the memorable pestilence in particular, which broke out in the reign of Justinian; and both from the length of time for which it lasted, and from the extent and violence of its ravages, is deservedly to be reckoned among the most active as well as the most constant of the causes of destruction to human life for the period in question. Victor Tununensis, *Chronicon* p. 9, dates the commencement of this plague, *Post Consulatum Basilii ii.* which would be A. D. 543. in the sixteenth of Justinian. Evagrius, the ecclesiastical historian, dates it the year before, A. D. 542: and we may judge of the length of its duration, from what he tells us, that it had continued from that time to the time when he was writing, fifty-two years without intermission. Evagrius was writing A. D. 592. See iv. 33. 363. A. We may judge of its continuity also, from the fact which he mentions, of its visiting Antioch alone, four times in fifty years: iv. 29. 404. A. Evagrius was himself a sufferer by the visitation, both in his family, and in his own person; having first been attacked by it when six years old, and a boy at school. He describes it consequently from his own experience; E. H. iv. 29. 403, 404: and with his

tion, to some remarks on the probable magnitude, and the number of the inhabitants of the city of Rome, in

account we may compare Procopius' also, *De Bello Persico*, ii. 22. p. 249. l. 7—23. 259. l. 12. which is the account of a contemporary and an eyewitness likewise. Both he and Procopius are agreed that, having begun in the regions of Æthiopia, or in Egypt, this visitation gradually spread to the most distant quarters of the empire in the west; travelling into all, and desolating all, in their turns, and not content with visiting particular places once, or for a limited time, but returning thither again, and prolonging its stay there as if on purpose. In Byzantium or Constantinople alone, after it had reached that quarter, we are told by Procopius, as many as 5000, and ultimately as 10,000, were known to die in a day: and that early in the history of the continuance of the plague^a. Nor, excepting perhaps occasional periods of intermission, does Constantinople appear to have been free from repeated visitations of it any more than Antioch. For, *ad annum Justinii iidi septimum*, consequently A. D. 571 or 572. Joannes Abbas, the continuator of Victor Tununensis, observes, p. 13. *In Regia urbe mortalitas inguinalis plagæ exardescit; in qua multa millia hominum vidimus defuisse: and this it appears continued till the eighth of Justin, when Tiberius was appointed Cæsar; and the re-*

mark occurs, *Hujus Tiberii Cæsaris die prima in Regia urbe inguinalis plagæ sedata est: though as we have seen from Evagrius, the plague itself, generally, cannot be supposed to have ceased throughout the empire, before A. D. 592 or 593, the eleventh of Mauricius, successor of Tiberius, at least.*

Estimating the effects of this visitation in general, Procopius, both in this chapter of the *Historia Arcana*, and also cap. vi. 20. C. D. is of opinion, that one half at least of those who survived the preceding causes of destruction must have fallen victims to this. Taking, therefore, each of these data into account, and assuming that from various causes, the loss of human life over all the empire, during the reign of Justinian, for the period considered by Procopius, amounted to 100,000,000: sixty millions of which or upwards, must be assigned to the effects of war, &c. and the remainder, forty millions, or nearly, to that of pestilence in particular—if these forty millions were equal to one half of the numbers which survived the other causes of destruction—the entire number which survived those causes was about eighty millions: and the entire amount of the population of the empire, including all who perished from any of the above causes, and all who survived, for the period in

^a Procopius, indeed, observes, that the plague reached Byzantium first, in the spring of the second year; and that the visitation in this first instance lasted four months, three of them the ἀκμή of the disease. But that he does not imply by this any actual cessation of the plague, appears plainly from the *Bellum Vandalicum*, ii. 14. 469. l. 15. et seqq: the time of which was the tenth of Justinian.

his time, or at any period before or after his, which may best illustrate its magnitude and population in his. This inquiry is intimately connected with the consideration of the numbers in the text of Suidas. If those numbers are all of them allowed to be genuine, or if the first of them in particular (that which denotes the four hundred) be admitted to be such; it follows that the sum total, the four millions and upwards, denoted by them, must be understood of the population of the city, if it cannot be understood of the population of the empire. That it cannot be understood of the latter, is self-evident; yet that it cannot be understood of the former, may be rendered almost as certain. In this case, either the whole passage, as it stands, means nothing at all, and must be dismissed as unworthy of further notice, or the numbers of the census, as they stand in the text at present, are to be considered undoubtedly corrupt; and therefore may justly admit of correction by δ , or any other alteration, which may best render them consistent with the rest of the passage, and with the matter of fact.

For it should be observed, that the passage asserts the numbers in question to be the amount of the *inhabitants* $\tau\eta\varsigma \text{ 'Ρωμ\alpha\iota\omega\nu}$; and therefore either of the city

question, must be estimated, upon the authority of Procopius, at 130 or 140 millions.

Nor is this vast reduction of the population of the empire from 140 to 40 millions, so very improbable in itself, at least if the accounts of Procopius are to be believed. For he tells us, that as the effect of the whole, in all parts of the empire, east and west, in Africa, in Italy, in Upper Asia, the country was almost depopulated, and a man might travel many days' journey

without meeting a single inhabitant. The extent of the existing depopulation in Africa, in particular, may be conceived from the fact, that Justinian rebuilt there one hundred and fifty cities; all more or less in ruins at the time: Evagrius, E. H. iv. 18. 394. D: though indeed Procopius De *Ædificiis* alone is competent to shew, that there was scarcely a quarter of the empire, either east or west, where he had not occasion to do the same thing.

or of the empire. It asserts consequently the numbers either of a *census urbis*, strictly so called, or of a *census orbis*: both which are different things from a *census civium*, or *census populi*, as such. It is therefore of little importance to the question at issue, that the numbers in Suidas, as they stand, may be partially recognised in the results of each of the three census populi, held by Augustus, in the course of his reign, and reported upon the Ancyran monument, and in the chronicon of Eusebius. I say partially recognised; for they agree with them all in part; but with none of the three exactly. The last of these censuses, according to the marble, viz. that of U. C. 767, was 4,037,000: on which account, Chishull proposed to correct the numbers in Suidas by $\nu\gamma'$, instead of $\nu\iota'$, μυριάδες, καὶ χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ, 4,037,017, instead of 4,101,017^a. The chronicon of Eusebius^b, however, represents this same census at 4,190,117. It is possible, therefore, that the numbers on the monument may themselves be in error; in which case they are not a proper standard whereby to correct the text of Suidas. At least no correction of Suidas in conformity either to the monument or to the chronicle, will do more than shift the difficulty in question; which is this, whether any of the censuses, reported in either, can be understood of the population of the city of Rome in the time of Augustus, or not. I am not disposed to allow that the censuses either in the monument or in the chronicle have any thing to do with a census urbis; but on the contrary I maintain that they are to be understood of the census civium, throughout the empire. Yet, notwithstanding, I cannot admit that the census in Suidas was ever intended

^a Tacitus, Tom. ii. pars ii^a. 840.
263. Ad annum 2029.

^b Chronicon Armeno-Latinum, pars ii.

even of a census of this last description : for it is there set forth as a census of the inhabitants either of the city or of the empire, for the former of which, as it stands at present, it is a great deal too much in excess, and for the latter it is still more so in defect.

While some learned men, upon the authority of these several censuses, have assumed the population of Rome in the time of Augustus, at four millions and upwards, others, upon the testimony of a well-known passage in Pliny^c, within 60 years after the last of the censuses of Augustus, are found to calculate it at the enormous multitude of 14,000,000. What can we think of such an extravagant conclusion ? especially when taken along with the former, the very truth of which would of itself imply the falsehood or absurdity of the latter. For even though Rome had contained four millions of inhabitants U.C. 767, these never could have increased to fourteen millions by U.C. 826. The truth is, that both these calculations of its numbers are grossly exaggerated, as we shall see by and by ; though the latter is much more so than the former.

My first argument to shew that no one of the censuses under Augustus is to be understood of a census urbis as such, would be taken from a comparison of the returns of those censuses, with the results of former censuses, also on record ; even such as are the nearest in point of time to these of Augustus. The disproportion between them is much too great to allow them all to be understood of a census urbis, or to account for the superior amount of the numbers under Augustus, by any intermediate increase of the magnitude or population of the city, which can reasonably be supposed to have taken place.

c H. N. iii. 9. p. 611. et sqq.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports a census of citizens, about U. C. 278, at 110,000, and a gross population of all kinds at 440,000 and upwards^d. When the city was taken by the Gauls, U. C. 364, the census was 152,573^e. About the time of Alexander, B. C. 324, U. C. 430, it was 130,000^f: U. C. 461, it was 262,322: U. C. 475, 278,222: about U. C. 479, 271,224: about U. C. 489, 292,224: about U. C. 499, 297,797: about U. C. 509, 251,222: just before the second Punic war, about U. C. 534, it was 270,213: and U. C. 546, it was 137,108: U. C. 550, it was 214,000: U. C. 565, 258,318^g: about U. C. 577, it was 273,244: U. C. 581, B. C. 173, it was 269,015: U. C. 586, B. C. 168, 411,810: about U. C. 590, B. C. 164, it was 337,452: about U. C. 594, it was 328,314: about U. C. 602, it was 324,000: about U. C. 613, it was 328,342: about U. C. 618, it was 323,000: about U. C. 624, it was 313,823: about U. C. 628, it was 390,736: about U. C. 640, it was 394,336 *^h.

The Ancyran monument speaks of there having been no lustrum conditum for 42 years before U. C. 727†.

* Jerome, Chronicon, p. 150. ad annum Abrahami 1932. Olympiad 173. 3. notices a census in which the results were 463,000. This date answers to U. C. 669: two years after the rights of citizenship had been conceded to the Italici Populi. See Livii Epitome LXXX. Hence probably the increase of numbers upon the census last preceding; though even this is small in com-

parison of the numbers specified by Phlegon, as we shall see, at the census, U. C. 685, B. C. 69. The difference might be partly accounted for by the loss of life in the war which preceded the census of U. C. 669; from which the country must in some measure have recovered itself by the time of the census, U. C. 685.

† Dio, xl. 57. mentions the restitution of the Potestas Cen-

^d Ant. Rom. ix. 25.

^e Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 5.

^f Plutarch, Operum

vii. 292. De Fortuna Romanorum.

^g Livy, x. 47. Epitome, xiii. xiv. xvi. xviii.

xix. xx. Livy, xxvii. 36. xxix. 37. xxxviii. 36.

^h Livy, xlii. 10. Epitome, xli.

xlv: Plutarch, Æmilius Paulus, 38. Cf. Livy, Epitome, xlvi. xlvii. xlviii. liv. lvi. lix. lx. lxiii: Suidas, Ῥωμαίων πόλις, and Ῥώμη.

This makes the last such lustrum, U. C. 685, B. C. 69ⁱ. Phlegon, as reported in Photius, (Codex 97. p. 84. l. 14,) gave the results of a census, Ol. ροζ'. γ'. 177. 3, (B. C. $\frac{70}{69}$), which must be the same, at 910,000. Here is a vast increase upon the numbers of former censuses, all at once: which it would not be easy to account for except on the supposition that all the citizens were included in this last, who became entitled to that character after the *Bellum Sociale*; that is, the whole of Italy, with the exception of Cisalpine Gaul*.

But, even supposing that this census of Phlegon's was a census urbis, is it conceivable that between U. C. 685, and U. C. 727, in 42 years' time, the number of citizens could have mounted up from 910,000 to 4,063,000 as reported on the Ancyran monument, and 4,164,000 as stated in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius^k; a period one of the most disastrous, and destructive to life and property, of any that can be mentioned in Roman history, before the birth of Christ? Or, supposing even this possible, what is the reason that the numbers of the city which had mounted upwards at this extraordinary rate, during so turbulent and destructive a period, are found at the next census of Augustus, U. C. 746, twenty years afterwards, only 4,233,000: and at the third, U. C. 767, forty years afterwards, only 4,037,000 according to the monument, and 4,190,117 according to Eusebius^m? This

soria, U. C. 702: and 63. the ejection of the historian Sallust from the senate by the censors, U. C. 704. It does not however follow that any census was held, or the lustrum conditum, before the time specified in the monument. And Dio, xxxvii. 9, men-

tions a census of Italy, as going on, but not completed, U. C. 689. Cf. however, Livy, cxv.

* Livy, *Epitome*, lib. xviii., makes this census 450,000 only; most probably as exclusive of the *Novi Cives*.

ⁱ Cf. Plutarch, Crassus, 13. Pompeius, 22. Jerome, *Chronicon*, p. 154.

^m Ad annum 2029.

^k Ad annum 1991. Also

last census was almost as long after that of U. C. 727, as that was after the census of U. C. 685 : yet the numbers of this last, in U. C. 767, shew scarcely any increase on the numbers of that in U. C. 727, and are even less than those of the intermediate census, U. C. 746.

The truth is, a Roman census as such, was a census civium, and not a census urbis, at least after the time that there began to be citizens of Rome, who yet were not resident at Rome. The colonies, we are told, began to be censured along with the inhabitants of Rome, U. C. 550, *Censoribus Nerone et Livio*ⁿ. From this time forward frequent allusions occur in Roman history to the same thing; and we may take it for granted that many more would be included in a regular census, than were or could be properly inhabitants of Rome^o. Gades is several times mentioned by Strabo, as comprehended in the censuses of his time; and Gades became a colony, U. C. 705^p. We may easily conceive what an addition would be made to the numbers of a Roman census, when the freedom of the city had been imparted to the whole of Italy cis Padum, as it was after the *Bellum Sociale*, U. C. 667^q: to all Cisalpine Gaul, or Gallia Togata, U. C. 705^r: to Sicily, about U. C. 710, B. C. 44^s: to the Provincia Romana, or Gallia Narbonensis, as there is reason to believe, before U. C. 712, and certainly before U. C. 741^t: not to mention the numbers dispersed in various parts of the empire, in Europe, Asia, or Africa, through a multitude of colonies, and municipia. The amount of *Cives Romani* in Asia alone, just before the Bel-

ⁿ Livy, xxix. 37. ^o Cf. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 15. *Livii Historiæ passim.*
Asconius in Verr. ii. p. 42. Cicero pro Archia, v. 2. 119. ^p Dio, xli. 24.
 Livy, cx. ^q Velleius Pat. ii. 17: Livy, *Epitome*, lxxx: Pliny, H. N. ii. 85.
 xxxiii. 17: Diodorus Sic. *Operum* x. 184. ^r Dio, xli. 36. (Cf. xxxvii. 9.)
^s Diodorus Sic. xvi. 70. ^t Vide Dio, xlvii. 55. Cf. xliii. 51. liii. 22. liv. 25.
 Livy, cxxxiv. cxxxvi. cxxxvii.

lum Mithridaticum, U. C. 666, was so great, that Mithridates destroyed, according to some authorities, 150,000, and according to others, not less than 80,000, in one day^t. A census of Augustus, then, especially such censuses as these, at a distance of twenty years asunder respectively, U. C. 727, U. C. 746, U. C. 767, would no doubt express the sum total of Roman citizens, not in Rome merely, but in all the empire, wherever they were to be found. In particular they would express the entire of the free population of Italy, including Rome, of Gallia Togata, and of Sicily, at least.

This conclusion is strongly corroborated by the proportion of the numbers of the next census, of which we have any account, to those of the last of Augustus. This census was taken in the eighth of Claudius, U. C. 801^u, thirty-four years after U. C. 767. Tacitus represents the numbers of the returns at 6,944,000: Eusebius in *Chronico*^v, at 6,941,000: Jerome, in *Chronico*^x, at 6,844,000. The difference between it, and the last of Augustus, in round numbers, is 2,750,000; that is, the sum total was more than half as much again upon this occasion as upon the former. How shall we account for so sudden an increase in the numbers of the citizens of Rome, within thirty-four years from the death of Augustus; which had continued stationary for the last forty years of his lifetime, if they had not even gone back?

It is not enough to reply that Augustus made it a point to prevent the freedom of the city from becoming too cheap and promiscuous; whereas in Claudius' time, before the third of his reign, U. C. 796, it was to

^t Valerius Max. ix. ii. 3: Plutarch, Sylla, 24: Photius, Codex 224. p. 231. 5: Cf. Velleius Pat. ii. 18: Livy, lxxviii: Appian, De Bell. Mithrid. 17. 22, 23.
^u Tacitus, Annales, xi. 25. ^v Ad annum 2061. ^x P. 160. Ad annum 2061.

be had almost for nothing^y. No doubt this circumstance must go someway to explain the increase in the numbers of a subsequent census; but not until the reign of Claudius; and not so soon in his reign, as U. C. 801. The only adequate solution of the phenomenon is the fact that, just before the time of this census of Claudius, the full rights of citizenship, which previously had been restricted to Gallia Braccata, or the Provincia Romana, had been conceded to the rest of Gaul, called by way of distinction Comata, and comprehending three fourths of the whole^z. The consequence would be, that whereas in the censuses of Augustus was comprehended only the free population of one fourth of Gaul, in this of Claudius would be included that of the whole: and the difference which is seen to hold good between their numbers, respectively, is no more than was beforehand to be expected.

Gaul is one of the few countries in the dominions of the Roman empire, the population of which, at this time, we have something like data to determine.

Appian^a tells us that Julius Cæsar, in his wars in Gaul, engaged, at different times, with more than 400 myriads of men—that is, four millions; one million of which he slew in battle, and another he made prisoners. He further supposes these to have constituted 400 nations, and the population of 800 cities*.

Plutarch, in his life of Cæsar^b, has but three mil-

* Evagrius, E. H. iii. 41. 372. D. in his answer to certain accusations of Zosimus against the memory of Constantine, alluding to Cæsar's conquests over the Gauls, Germans, and Bri-

tons, says that they possessed among them 500 cities: a much more probable statement than this of Appian's, though very possibly exaggerated in itself.

^y Dio, lx. 17. Cf. Acts xxii. 28. Dio, lvi. 33. ^z Tacitus, Annales, xi. 23—25: Seneca, De Beneficiis, vi. xix. 2: Ludus de Morte Claudii Cæsaris, iii. 3: Pliny, H. N. iv. 31: Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 442, 443: Dio, xlv. 55. ^a De Rebus Gallicis, iv. 2. ^b Cap. 15.

lions of people, 300 nations, and 800 cities; though in the other particulars he agrees with Appian.

Julian, in his *Cæsares*^c, supposes Cæsar himself to say he subdued more than 300 cities, and not less than 200 myriads, or two millions of men: to which if we are to add one million for the slain, this statement will pretty nearly agree with Plutarch's: otherwise, if it expresses the sum total of the Gauls encountered by Cæsar, it differs both from that, and from Appian's.

Agrippa is represented by Josephus^d as telling the Jews, U. C. 819, that Gaul contained 305 nations: a statement which cannot be true, any more than Appian's or Plutarch's, as we shall see presently, if understood of nations: but may be if understood of myriads of inhabitants.

Pliny^e says that Julius Cæsar killed in his wars, distinct from the civil wars, and consequently chiefly in his wars in Gaul, 1,192,000 persons. Velleius Paterculus^f puts the number slain by him in these last wars at 400,000 and upwards. There is an immense difference between these statements; though it must be confessed that those of Pliny, Plutarch, and Appian, with respect to the numbers destroyed in battle, are sufficiently in unison with each other. But they are all the statements of later writers than Velleius Paterculus, whose authority, in point of time, is the next best to that of Cæsar himself. To judge from Cæsar's own account, if the numbers in Velleius appear to be somewhat underrated, yet those in the other instances must be considered a great deal more exaggerated, in comparison of the truth.

Reckoning the Belgæ at a third of Gaul, distinct from the *Provincia*, Cæsar^g states the forces which

^c Opera, 321. A. ^d De Bello, ii. xvi. 4. p. 478. ^e H. N. vii. 25. Cf. Solinus Polyhistor, i. §. 106. ^f Lib. ii. 47. ^g De Bello Gallico, i. 1; ii. 1. 4.

their different clans offered to bring into the field on a certain occasion at 306,000. I think that the above sum total was intended to express the proper *militaris ætas* of their nation; and consequently to be a fourth of their whole population. Strabo tells us^h the Belgæ consisted in his time of fifteen clans or *ἔθνη*, and once could bring into the field an army of 300,000 soldiers; in which he seems to have had his eye on this passage in Cæsar. Cæsar himself informs usⁱ that the Aduatuci, who promised on the same occasion 28,000 soldiers, consisted only of 53,000 + 4000, or 57,000 in all. Whence it appears that they promised half their population: or all their males, excepting children. In like manner, the Nervii, who had promised 50,000 soldiers, had in fact but 60,000 in all: out of which number he tells us they lost all but 500, or as the Epitomizer of Livy has it, all but 300; the whole of their adult male population. On this principle, Belgium contained a population of about 1,200,000: and the whole of Gaul, if four times as great, contained one of 4,800,000.

Diodorus Siculus indeed has a statement^k that the greatest nation in Gaul contained a population of nearly 200,000 males, and the least, one of 50,000: between which the average would be 125,000. But that this statement is erroneous, either in restricting these numbers to the male population only, or in the numbers themselves, or in both, may be rendered very probable. Cæsar mentions an instance^l, in which the gross population of five nations was 368,000; which was but 73,000 and upwards, male and female, to each. The Aduatuci, as we saw, were but 57,000 in all. Belgium with 15 nations, according to Strabo, (cf. Cæsar De B. G. ii. 4.) had a population of 1,200,000 in

^h Lib. iv. cap. 4. §. 3. 56, 57.
lib. civ.

^k v. 25.

^l Lib. i. 29.

ⁱ De Bello Gallico, ii. 4. 28, 29. 33. Cf. Livy,

all; which is 80,000 apiece. The average of Belgium, I should consider to be a very fair average for the whole of Gaul. Now Gaul contained, according to Strabo^m, 60 nations; and according to Servius ad Æneidem, i. 286, 64; and that the first of these numbers may be looked on as true, we may infer from a variety of passages in Straboⁿ. Among these, the 20 nations of the Aquitani, he observes, were μικρὰ καὶ ἄδοξα, in his time; which also must contribute to discredit the statement of Diodorus. Assuming then the number of ἔθνη at 60, and the average rate of population at 80,000, we obtain the sum total of the inhabitants of Gaul, 4,800,000: a conclusion exactly the same as before.

A Roman census took an account of all the members composing the family of a Roman citizen; male and female, adult or non-adult, alive or dead, bond or free^o. The published results of such accounts, indeed, did not comprehend the sum of all, but only of the free portion of the whole. This free portion included the women and children, who possessed the rights of citizens, as well as the men^p: and there is no reason why they should not be considered to be comprehended in the joint amount of the cives Romani at a given time, as well as the men*. That they were so comprehended in this instance of the census in the time of Claudius appears from the following fact, which is on record in reference to it.

There is extant an ancient inscription to the pur-

* We find the *orbi* and *orbæ*, times they were included, or the *pupilli* and *viduæ*, sometimes that women not *viduæ*, and expressly excepted, as Livy, iii. minors not *orbi* or *orbæ*, ordinarily were so. 3. and lib. lix. Epitome; which implies either that at other

^m Lib. iv. 3. §. 2. 44. Cf. Pliny, H. N. iii. 24. ⁿ Lib. iv. 1. §. 1. 4: 2. §. 1. 37, 38: 4. §. 3. 56, 57. Cf. Geographi Min. i. 46. 48, 49, 50. Marciani Periplus, ii. ^o Dionysius Hal. iv. 15. ix. 25. Cf. Frontonis Opera inedita, Pars ii. 444. Epistolæ Græcæ, vii. ^p Cf. Pliny, Epp. x. 4. 107.

port that, *Temporibus Claudii Cæsaris, facta hominum armigerum ostensione in Roma, (reperta sunt) septies decies * centena millia lxxxvii.* If this inscription be an authentic document, it refers to the census in the eighth of Claudius, U. C. 801: and the authenticity of the inscription is strongly confirmed by the proportion which it asserts between the *armigera pars*, and the gross amount of the census: viz. 1,700,087: referred to 6,944,000. This is as nearly as possible the proportion of one to four: and such, it is calculated, is the proportion which the part of a given population, at a given time, fit for war bears to the whole. Of this proportion, we may adduce the following instances, which will illustrate the truth of the assertion.

Cæsar himself informs us^q that out of 368,000 Helvetii, the *militaris ætas* amounted to 92,000; that is, just to one fourth of the whole.

Strabo mentions^r that when the Salassi were reduced by Augustus, U. C. 729, out of 36,000 in all, 8000 were able to bear arms. This is not quite a fourth; but the deficiency may be explained by supposing that they had lost 1000 of their soldiers, before they were reduced.

Velleius Paterculus^s tells us that in the revolt of Pannonia and Dalmatia, U. C. 760, out of a population of 800,000 and upwards, 200,000 and upwards took the field; that is, one fourth of the whole.

As then we perceive an excess of nearly three millions in the census, U. C. 801, above that in U. C. 767; so, if the population of Gallia Comata was taken into account in the former census, but only that of Gallia

* Septies decies, that is, 17, dici sine et conjunctione, et not 70. Cf. Varro, *Fragmenta*, similia.
198: Quintum tricesimum diem

^q Lib. i. 29.

^r Lib. iv. 6. §. 7. 84. Cf. Dio, liii. 25.

^s Lib. ii. 110.

Braccata in the latter, we perceive that the difference between them is accounted for. Gallia Comata, in point of extent, might be more than three fourths of the whole of Gaul; but the Provincia Romana, in point of population, contained perhaps one third of the inhabitants of Gaul. For the Provincia had never suffered from those destructive wars of Cæsar, by which one third of the rest of the inhabitants of Gaul had been cut off. Hence if the population of all Gaul was about five millions, the Provincia might contain nearly two millions of these, and the rest of the country the remainder. A census, then, which took in these last, as well as the former, would exceed one which comprehended only the former, by nearly three millions.

Again, among the other criteria for determining the amount of the population of Rome, the numbers of the *plebs urbana*, or of the *δημος*, properly so called, would seem to be one, if those numbers could be ascertained with any thing like precision. Under this denomination, Dio^t includes the commonalty of Rome as such; that is, all the free population of the city, with the exception of the knights and the senators. Neither of these latter classes in particular was at any time so numerous as to make much difference in the total amount of Roman citizens, whether reckoned inclusively or exclusively of them. The number of senators, even when greatest, never exceeded 1000; and U. C. 736, was permanently reduced by Augustus to 600^u. And as to the amount of the equestrian order, though greater than that of the senatorian, yet it might be shewn from the accounts of the numbers of their

^t lii. 28. 30. ^u Vide Plutarch, viii. 21, De Garrulitate: 1 Macc. viii. 15: Livy, lx: Cicero, Oratio post reditum ii. 10: Appian, B. C. i. 59. 100. ii. 30: Dio, lii. 42. liv. 13, 14. 17. 35: Suetonius, Augustus, 35. Cf. Aurelius Victor, De Vespasiano.

body, which perished in the proscriptions, at a time when the greatest part of them were cut off at once, that they probably did not exceed two or three thousand ^v.

The most effectual means of ascertaining the number of the citizens of Rome, as such, is the account of the several *congiaria* of various kinds, which were distributed to them at different times; in some instances of which the numbers who partook of them are actually specified, and in others may very probably be conjectured. I shall produce examples of these *congiaria*, not only during the reign of Augustus, but before and after it; from which it will appear that the number of those who were entitled to partake in such gratuities, preserves a remarkable uniformity through a period of two centuries and upwards.

Lucullus, on his return from Asia, U. C. 688, distributed among the people of Rome, 100,000 *cadi* of Chian wine ^w.

The *cadus congiarius* is considered by Arbuthnot an uncertain measure. But we may suppose it was nearly the same as the Attic $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$; that is, it contained something more than six pints of our measure, or six Roman *sextarii* ^x.

If we refer to the passages cited below^y, we shall conclude that two *sextarii*, or about a quart of our measure, would be no improbable allowance to each recipient on such an occasion as this *. If so, the

* In the Greek Anthology there is an epigram of Posidippus, which, as it appears from the context, reckons three *choēs* of wine

^v Cf. Appian, B. C. i. 103. iv. 5. ^w Pliny, H. N. xiv. 17. xv. 30. Velleius Pat. ii. 33. ^x Cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, v. 5. Suidas, indeed, voce $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ has a gloss, that the $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ was equal to two *sextarii* or $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, and the $\chi\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ to six; in which case the $\chi\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ was the same with the *Cadus*. But in fact, as Kuster, *in locum*, observes, $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\chi\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ are the same thing. ^y Thucydides, iv. 16. vii. 87: Livy, vii. 37: Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 12: Dicaearchus apud Athenæum, iv. 19: Horace, *Sermonum* i. i. 74: Juvenal, vi. 426, 427: Vopisci Tacitus, 11.

whole number of recipients was 300,000; and that was the number of the Roman people at this time.

Marcus Crassus, U. C. 684, entertained the people of Rome, at a public banquet, on 10,000 tables^x.

Julius Cæsar, U. C. 708, did the same at the celebration of his triumph, on 22,000 tables^y. The numbers at each table are not specified. But if thirty persons were entertained at a table by Crassus, the numbers upon that occasion were 300,000 in all; and if fifteen were entertained by Cæsar, the numbers then were 330,000.

That such *epula* as these might comprehend the women and children as well as the men, may be inferred from Suet. Caius, 17, §. 4, 5.

Julius Cæsar left behind him at his death^z 2500 myriads (of drachmæ) to be distributed among the people at the rate of 75 drachmæ, or 300 numi apiece. This supposes the total of citizens 330,000 and upwards. And that the largess in question would include all the males from eleven years old and upwards,

only a necessary allowance for a party of eight: that is, one quart and half a pint to each: Anthologia, ii. 49. Posidippi xii. In Porphyry, *Περὶ ἀποχῆς ζώων*, iv. 4. 305. eight choës of wine are put in proportion to a medimnus of corn per month, which is at the rate of a pint and an half of wine to a chœnix and an half of corn per day. In like manner, Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iv. 11. two choës of wine are put in proportion to six chœnices of bread; that is, a quart of

wine to one chœnix of bread. Cf. Athenæus, x. 7. In Julian's letter to Arsacius, the Gentile high priest of Galatia, (*Operum* 430. C. *Epistolæ*, xlix. or Sozomen, E. H. v. 16. 619. C.) 60,000 sextarii of wine are put in proportion to 30,000 modii of corn: that is, one quart to a modius: or about one hemina of wine (the gill measure with us) to two chœnices of bread—which is a very low proportion.

^x Plutarch, Crassus, 12. ^y Plutarch, Vita, 55. Pliny, H. N. xiv. 17. ^z Plutarch, vi. 778. *Apophthegmata*: Antonius, 16. Brutus, 20: Suetonius, Julius, 83, 4: Tacitus, ii. Pars ii. 842: Appian, B. C. ii. 143: Nicolaus Damascenus, Vita Aug. 13: Dio, xlv. 35: Zonaras, x. 12. 493. B.

(if not indeed of every age,) appears from Suetonius, Augustus, 41, 5.

The numbers of the corn pensioners, or of such as received a monthly distribution of corn at the expense of the state, before U. C. 708, are estimated at 320,000. At that time, however, they were found to have decreased to 150,000; or this number of names was struck off the list by Julius Cæsar at once^a. Of the reasons which might have occasioned this reduction, some conjecture may perhaps be formed from Suetonius, Augustus, 42: Appian, B. C. ii. 120. But we shall see presently that the reduction itself was not a permanent measure, and that the number of corn recipients, on several later occasions, is still estimated at the same amount of 320,000.

Thus it appears from the Ancyran monument^b, that the plebs urbana, up to Augustus' xii consulate, U. C. 749, were still reckoned at 320,000: but that by the time of his thirteenth consulate, U. C. 752, they had again been reduced to something more than 200,000. The time of this reduction is shewn by a comparison of the monument with the history of Dio, (in which about this period there is an hiatus in the order of events,) to have been either U. C. 752 itself, or some year between that and U. C. 748^c.

The annual expense, entailed upon the state by the *συντηρέσιον ἔμμηνον*, or monthly issue of corn, is stated by Plutarch in one instance at 550 myriads, that is, 5,500,000 drachmæ: and in another at 1250 talents, that is, 7,500,000 drachmæ^d.

These two sums are in the proportion of 11 to 15: and those are to each other nearly as 200:300; or as 2:3. If so, there is no necessity to correct the text

^a Plutarch, Julius, 55: Suetonius, Julius, 41, 6: Appian, B. C. ii. 102: Dio, xliii. 21: Zonaras, x. 10. 489. B: Cf. Livy, Epitome, cxv. ^b Tacitus, ii. Pars ii. 842. ^c Dio, lv. 10: cf. Suetonius, Augustus, 42. ^d Cæsar, 8. Cato Minor, 26.

of Plutarch, in the Life of Cæsar; and his statements may be rendered consistent with each other, by supposing the larger of them intended to denote the expense of maintaining about 300,000 persons annually, and the lesser that of supporting about 200,000: in other words, that the number of corn pensioners was always understood to be neither much more than 300,000, nor much less than 200,000.

That the larger of the two sums in question is a pretty accurate statement of the expense of maintaining 300,000 persons annually, may be collected from the Ancyran monument, *loco citato*; where it is said that Augustus, in his xi consulship, U. C. 731, distributed to the people, *duodecim frumentationes*, at his own expense: upon which, and on the other *congiaria*, recited in the same document, it is observed, that they never cost him less than 250,000 sesterces, that is, than 62,500 drachmæ at a time. These twelve *frumentationes* were most probably intended for a month's subsistence each time wholly or in part; and therefore for a year's supply wholly or in part in all.

If the alleged expense be understood, as the necessity of the case requires it should be, of the cost of every one of those *frumentationes* in particular, the gross amount of the twelve, or of one year's allowance of corn from Augustus' private purse to the people, was 750,000 drachmæ. As this is exactly a tenth part of 7,500,000, we may presume that this year, U. C. 731, which was in fact the first of Augustus' Tribunitia Potestas as such, he contributed a tenth part of the whole expense, annually incumbent on the state for the maintenance of the people*.

* In the Epitome of Aurelius Victor, De Augusto, it is observed: Hujus tempore ex Ægypto urbi annua ducenties centena millia frumenti inferebantur. This statement is pro-

The Ancyran monument, *loco citato*, specifies three pecuniary largesses of Augustus to the people, of 400 numi, or 100 drachmæ each, annis U. C. 725, 730, 742, respectively^e. In these largesses all the male citizens, whether men or boys, partook alike^f. A fourth pecuniary largess, one of 60 drachmæ each, is further specified, U. C. 749, when the recipients were 320,000 *plebei urbanæ*. As the numbers of receivers are mentioned on this occasion, but only the amount distributed to each on the former, I should conclude that though more was received by each of the parties on the former occasions, many more individuals received the gratuity in the later instance: in other words, that perhaps not more than two thirds of the number were included in each of the former gratuities, who were included in the latter. A further reason for this supposition will appear in the fact which will next be cited.

The emperor Augustus bequeathed to the citizens of Rome, 40,000,000 of sesterces, or 10,000,000 of drachmæ, besides a legacy of 3,500,000 sesterces to the Plebs, composing the tribes, or to the Vicorum Magistri, in particular: and other legacies to the military—the Prætorian guards, the Cohortes Urbanæ,

bably to be understood of the whole amount of corn annually imported from abroad^d. It is there estimated at 20,000,000 of modii yearly; that is, at 1,666,000 every month: which at the rate of six modii to every recipient a month, would be adequate to the maintenance of 277,000 per-

sons and upwards, monthly. This conclusion is clearly in unison with those which have been already established; and would lead to the same inference, that the number of corn-pensioners in the reign of Augustus was from two to three hundred thousand, but not more.

^d Plutarch, in his Life of Caesar, cap. 55, estimates the annual contribution of corn from Lybia or Africa, at 2,000,000 of Attic medimni; that is, about 14,000,000 of modii: and Agrippa, apud Josephum, De Bell. ii. xvi. 4. p. 483—estimates that of Egypt in general or Alexandria in particular, at a four months' supply. On this principle two thirds of the annual supply of corn were drawn from Africa, and the remaining third from Egypt: hence, if Africa supplied for that purpose about 14,000,000 of modii, Egypt must have supplied about 7,000,000, and both together about 20,000,000.

^e Cf. Dio, li. 21. liii. 28. liv. 29.

^f Dio, li. 21:

Suetonius, Augustus, 41, 5.

and the legionary soldiers : to these last at the rate of 300 numi or seventy-five drachmæ each^g. Had the people received the whole of their legacy at the same rate as the legionary troops, it would imply that they were not much more than 133,000 in number. But Tiberius distributed this largess at the rate of 65 drachmæ to each, U.C. 768^h. In this case, the number of recipients was 153,000 and upwards, but not more.

In like manner, the emperor Tiberius himself left the people at his death, U.C. 790, the sum of 11,250,000 drachmæ, which Caius, his successor, paid, with a largess of his own of 75 drachmæ to each person, besidesⁱ. Perhaps Caius doubled the largess of Tiberius ; at least, we may presume, he did not exceed it. If each citizen received 75 drachmæ, out of 11,250,000, the number of recipients was 150,000 : if 65 drachmæ, their number was 173,000 and upwards.

After this time, though the fact of a variety of money largesses is upon record, yet we meet with none which furnishes the means of ascertaining the number of recipients, until the reign of Severus, U.C. 955 ; when, as Dio informs us^k, 50,000,000 of drachmæ were distributed among the *σιτοδοτούμενος ὄμιλος*, and the Prætorian guards, at the rate of ten aurei, or 250 drachmæ apiece. The number of recipients in all was consequently 200,000 : and therefore the numbers of the *δημος*, as such, were *minus* that number by the amount of the Prætorian guards in the reign of Severus, whatever that was. And if the Prætorian guards, with the Cohortes Urbanæ, amounted to 16,000 in the reign of Augustus, (see Dio, lv. 24, U.C. 758,) they could not be less than that in the reign of Severus*.

* The Prætorian guard had been suppressed and disbanded

^g Suetonius, Augustus, 102, 4 : Tacitus, Annales, i. 8 : Dio, lvi. 32. ^h Dio, lvii. 14. ⁱ Dio, lix. 2. Cf. Suetonius, Caius, 17, 4. Tiberius, 76. ^k Lib. lxxvi. 1.

If then we may pause at this juncture to review the preceding observations, we perceive that from U. C. 684 to U. C. 955, a period of 271 years, the numbers of the Roman people never exceeded 320,000, nor fell short of 150,000; and are stated sometimes at the former, sometimes at the latter. I think there is no other mode of reconciling these different statements, but one; viz. that where the number of the Plebs Urbana is reckoned at 320,000, it includes all of every age and of either sex; where it is stated at 150,000, it is intended only of the male part of it, as such: though both of adults and non-adults alike. On this principle the gross total of the free population of Rome, male and female, adult or non-adult, was not more in the reign of Augustus than 320,000. Nor need we be surprised at this. When Julius Cæsar proposed his law, U. C. 695, for the division of the *ager Campanus*, there were not among the citizens of Rome more than 20,000 married persons, with three children or more apiece¹; that is, the gross amount of families, of five persons each, was but 100,000. About the same time, there were not 2000 citizens, *qui rem haberent*; that is, were people of property, or of independent fortune^m. How small comparatively, then, would the number of married citizens with families be, and how very probable that as 150,000 seems often

by Severus, at the beginning of his reign, for their treachery to Pertinax: see Herodian, ii. 43, 44. But that they were afterwards restored, appears from the fact of the early appointment of Plautian to the office of Præfectus Prætorii: and both the

Prætorian guard, and the Cohortes Urbanæ are mentioned, Herodian, iii. 44, towards the end of the reign of Severus: the latter as four times more numerous than they once had been.

¹ Velleius Paterculus, ii. 44. Suetonius, Julius, 20, 6. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 10.
^m Cicero, De Officiis, ii. 21.

to be specified as the sum total of the male population of citizens of every age, so twice that amount might be the sum total of the gross population, male and female, of every age likewise.

This conclusion we may further confirm by another fact which is recorded of the reign of Severus: viz. that at his death, U. C. 964, A. D. 211, he left in the public granaries, *Septem annorum canonem, ita ut quotidiana septuaginta quinque millia modiorum expendi possent*ⁿ. This statement implies that the daily issue of corn to the people, at the time of the death of Severus, was 75,000 modii *.

* There is nothing improbable in the above supposition. The case of Rome at this time was but analogous to that of Constantinople in after time; or the *Νέα Ῥώμη*, as it was called. The grandeur of Constantinople, and the number of its inhabitants, almost from the first, were on a par with those of ancient Rome. Its foundation, which means its completion, is placed by the *Fasti Idatiani*, p. 30. Coss. Gallicano et Symmacho, v. idus Maias, May 11, A. D. 330. By Zonaras, ii. xiii. 3. 6. C. also the day of its dedication is fixed to May 11, A. M. 5838—which also may be shewn to answer to A. D. 330. Pollux in his *Chronicon* (p. 272) dates it Artemisius or March xi, in one of Constantine's consulships, *Æræ Antiochenæ* 378: which would answer to A. D. 329. Suidas, *Κωνσταντίνος ὁ μέγας*, has much too late a date. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, viii. 76. dates the commencement of the work, A. D. 326, and

(Cf. *ibid.* 95.) its completion, as before, May 11, A. D. 330: in which case it took up but five years in all: a conclusion hardly reconcileable with the observation of Julian, *Oratio* i. 8. B.: *πόλιν τε ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν* (sc. ὁ Κωνσταντίνος) *ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσι δέκα*: which implies at least double the time. With respect to its magnitude from the first, Zosimus, ii. p. 105. 108. 112. Socrates, i. 16, 45. C. Sozomen, ii. 3. 444. C—D. 445. B. Evagrius, iii. 41. 371. A. B. will shew what provision Constantine made for the peopling of the New city, and in how short a time it rivalled ancient Rome in the number of its inhabitants, and the extent and magnificence of its buildings. Cf. Philostorgius, ii. 9. 472. D. Jerome, in *Chronico*, ad annum Constantini 24. A. D. 330. observes, *Constantinopolis dedicatur pene omnium urbium nuditate*: the meaning of which last words is well explained by a *Locus Classicus* in reference to this

ⁿ Spartian, Severus, 23. 8. Cf. Lampridius, Heliogabalus, 27.

A chœnix of flour, or of bread corn, prepared for baking, was reckoned a sufficient allowance for one

very subject in Eunapius' Life of Ædesius, where he is giving an account of the death of Soter, another of the disciples of Iamblichus, whom Constantine, as he would have it believed, sacrificed to the senseless clamour of the people of Constantinople—who charged him with having by magical arts spell-bound the winds, and prevented the arrival of the supplies of corn: page 22: οὕτω καὶ τότε συνορᾶν ἔξῃν τὸ κατὰ Σώπατρον ἐπιβούλευμα. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Κωνσταντινούπολις, τὸ ἀρχαῖον Βυζάντιον, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς παλαιοὺς χρόνους Ἀθηναίοις παρέιχε τὴν σιτοπομπείαν, καὶ περιττὸν ἦν τὸ ἐκείθεν ἀγώγιμον· ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πλῆθος τῶν οἰκῶν, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐξ Ἀσίας ἀπάσης, Συρίας τε καὶ Φοινίκης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν συμφερόμενον πλῆθος σίτου, κατὰ ἀπαγωγὴν φόρον, ἐμπλῆσαι καὶ κορέσαι τὸν μεθύοντα δύναται δῆμον, ὃν Κωνσταντῖνος, τὰς ἄλλας χερῶσας πόλεις ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον μετέστησε, κ', τ. λ. συμβέβηκε δὲ καὶ τῇ θέσει τοῦ Βυζαντίου μηδὲ εἰς πλοῦν ἀρμόζειν τῶν καταφερομένων πλοίων, ἂν μὴ καταπνέυσῃ νότος ἀκραῆς καὶ ἄμικτος· καὶ τότε δὴ τοῦ πολλάκις συμβαίνοντος κατὰ τὴν ὥρων φύσιν συμβάντος, ὃ τε δῆμος ὑπὸ λιμοῦ παρεθνήεας συνήεσαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, καὶ σπάνις ἦν τοῦ μεθύοντος ἐπαίνου, καὶ τὸν βασιλεῦα κατείχεν ἀθυμία. κ', τ. λ. The privilege of the corn-pension or σιτηρέσιον, enjoyed by the freemen of ancient Rome, was transferred by Constantine to the burgesses of the Νέα Ῥώμη also; see Zosimus, ii. 108. Evagrius, loco citato, &c. and the provision made by him

for the daily issue of bread, wine, garments, &c. accordingly, is illustrated by Pollux, Chronicon, p. 272. Cf. Socrates, i. 35. 71. B. Sozomen, ii. 25. 481. D. Theodorit, i. 31. 65. C. It appears from Socrates, E. H. ii. 13. 90. D. in reference to the violence committed by the people of Constantinople upon the person of Hermogenes, the Magister Militum, in the reign of Constantius, A. D. 342, (Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 10, p. 47, 48.) in consequence of which that emperor amerced the city in one half of the daily allowance in question, such as it was, (Cf. Sozomen, iii. 7. 506. C. D.) that this daily allowance amounted to 80,000 measures of corn: a statement, repeated by Pollux, (probably after Socrates,) Chronicon, p. 322, in reference to the same occasion. Eighty thousand ἄρτοι is the phrase which occurs in Pollux and in Photius (Codex 257, p. 475. l. 39.) with respect to the provision in question. But Valesius (see his note on Socrates *in loco*) very properly understands ἄρτοι here, as equivalent to modii: otherwise unless the size of the loaf was proportionably greater, and adequate to the maintenance of five or six persons daily—the free population of Constantinople could have amounted to but 80,000, at a time when that of Rome was probably four or five hundred thousand. This is too great a disproportion to justify the descriptions given above of the size of the city from the first, and of

man's subsistence daily^o. Polybius tells us, *De Militia Romana*^p, that a Roman soldier's monthly ration of bread corn was δύο μέρη, two thirds, as I understand him, of an Attic medimnus; 32 chœnixes—or about one chœnix a-day. A slave's monthly allowance at Rome from his master, was five modii and five denarii^q; which is in the proportion of a modius every six days—or, if we reckon with Arbuthnot, the Roman modius at one sixth of the Attic medimnus, (though the Latin writers commonly put it at one seventh,) eight chœnixes every six days—at the rate of a chœnix and one third per day. Cornelius Nepos tells us of Atticus^r, that he distributed to the people of Athens seven modii, or one Attic medimnus, at a time apiece; which was 48 chœnixes—and if intended for a month's subsistence, was about a chœnix and an half per day. So Julius Cæsar, U. C. 708, distributed to every citizen ten modii of corn, and ten pounds of oil^s; which at the same rate of a chœnix and one third per day, would be a two months' subsistence for each. That oil was often distributed on such occasions as well as bread corn, is well known.

With regard then to the question, how many persons 75,000 modii of corn as issued daily in the time of Severus, were competent to support; if one modius

its equality even to Rome. But if *ἄπροι* be equivalent to modii, then a daily issue of 80,000 *ἄπροι*, at the rate of one modius among six persons, would be adequate to the daily maintenance of 480,000 persons. And a free population of Constanti-

nople in the time of Constantius, amounting to 480,000, would be very much on a par with the free population of Rome, in his father's time, and in his own, which was very probably about the same.

^o Herodotus, vii. 187: Thucydides, vii. 87; iv. 16: Athenæus, iii. 54: Theophrastus, *Hist. Pl.* viii. 4. p. 159: Horace, *Serm.* i. v. 68, 69: Aristides xxv. 496. l. 20: Dio Chrysostom, vii. 231. 35: Philostratus, 552. A. *Vite Soph.* ii. Herodes Atticus. Cf. *supra* p. 29, 30.

^q Seneca, *Epistolæ*, 80, 7.

^r Vita, 2.

^p Lib. vi. 39. Cf. Livy, vii. 37.

^s Suetonius, *Julius*, 38, 2.

would suffice one person six days, it would suffice six persons one day: and therefore 75,000 modii would suffice 450,000 persons daily. But Severus is said to have increased the usual rate of the corn allowance to the military, and, as we may presume, also to the people^t. It is probable then that each pensioner received something more than one modius every six days: perhaps one modius every five days, or six modii in a month. In this case the number of daily recipients was but 375,000.

Now this sum is more in proportion to the other, of the recipients of the largess in the reign of Severus, which we found to be 200,000 *minus* the number of the Prætorian guards. Let us suppose the Prætorian guards were about 16,000; and therefore the people as such, were about 184,000: and that these were the male part of the citizens of every age. Twice that amount, or 368,000, would be the amount of the free population, male and female, and of every age also.

The monthly corn ticket was the right by law of every citizen living at Rome^u. Even the Jewish Roman citizens had the same privilege as the rest; and with this further indulgence in their case, that if the usual monthly distribution otherwise fell on their sabbath, they were allowed to receive their share on the following day^v. It was in the power, too, of every citizen to claim the ticket, whether his circumstances might require it or not: and there is very little doubt that the rich claimed it as well as the poor^w. It would be absurd to suppose that the female citizens would not have the same need of it, and the same right to it,

^t Herodian, iii. 25. ^u Cf. Epicteti Manuale, 2: Seneca, De Beneficiis, iv. 28. 1. ^v Philo Judæus, ii. 569. 13. sqq. De Virtutibus. ^w Cicero, Tusculanæ Disputationes, iii. 20: Juvenal, i. 117—120; vii. 174, 175.

as the male; and consequently that the distribution would not include the women as well as the men^x. In the time of Trajan, too, U. C. 751, there is proof that children were taken into account as well as grown up persons^y. The same thing appears of the children of both sexes, in the reign of M. Aurelius, U. C. 914^z; as also that the names of the children of freemen were to be registered with the *præfecti ærarii Saturni*, within a month after their birth^{a*}: most probably in order to ascertain the number of the corn-pensioners the better, and what proportion each citizen was entitled to, not only for himself, but also for his family: though as to the keeping a register of the births of Roman citizens, that was not peculiar to such as took place in Rome, but extended also to the provinces.

The sum total then of the free population of Rome, of every age and of both sexes, which in the time of Augustus did not exceed 320,000, at the death of Severus, A. D. 211, was about 368,000. Here is an increase of 48,000; which is what we should expect in general, though the amount of the increase, in propor-

* The biographer of Aurelius says he was the *first* to make this regulation; but his commentators have shewn that this was not the case; it was only the revival or improvement of an ancient custom. It appears from Apuleius, *De Magia Oratio*, vol. ii. page 92, that in Africa (at *Œa* at least) the births of female citizens were wont to be publicly registered, at a time which was forty years before the date of that oration; viz. the proconsulate of Claudius

Maximus, sometime in the reign of Antoninus Pius, see p. 88, perhaps about the middle of it. The epitomizer of Aurelius Victor, *De Nerva*, observes, *Puellas, puerosque natos parentibus egestuosis, sumptu publico per Italiæ opida ali jussit*. This would require an account to be kept of them. Trajan's provision for the orphan children of freemen was no doubt in imitation of this of Nerva's. Cf. *Dio lxxviii. 5*.

x Cf. Juvenal, i. 120—126: Pliny, *Epistolæ*, x. 4. 107.
y Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 25—27, 28. 51. Cf. Spartian, *Hadrianus*, 7.
a *Ibid.* 9.

z *Capitolinus*, *Antoninus Phil.* 7.

tion to the length of time between Augustus and Severus, may appear small in particular. I am concerned, however, only with facts, and do not propose to investigate causes at present; some of which might nevertheless be specified, to account for the effect in the given instance; especially the debauchery and immorality of the Roman capital for all this period, and the still prevailing practice of the exposure of new born children; two causes which must strongly have checked the natural tendency of population to increase, even in times otherwise the most favourable to its augmentation; which the times between Augustus and Severus were not.

I think the conclusion thus obtained, concerning the numbers of the free population of Rome, in the time of Augustus, or thenceforward, from the rate of the different congiaria, above considered, may be further confirmed, by a comparison of these numbers with the magnitude of the various theatres built at Rome, for their accommodation.

Publius Victor in his *Descriptio Urbis Romæ*, (which was not written, however, before the reign of Constantine,) enumerates a great number of public buildings, as theatres, circuses, amphitheatres, &c.; but I shall confine myself of course to those which are most commonly mentioned in the writers contemporary with the reign of Augustus, or thereabouts. The principal theatres, then, in these times were Pompey's, dedicated U. C. 699^b: Balbus' and Marcellus', both dedicated U. C. 741^c. These three together served the same purpose for the resort of the people, on holydays, as the three forums, the forum Romanum, the forum Cæsaris, and the forum Augusti, upon other days, for

^b Dio, xxxix. 38: Cicero, *De Officiis*, ii. 16.

^c Dio, liv. 25, 26.

the transaction of business^d. They were as competent to contain the people, at times of public diversion and amusement, as the fora were, upon occasions of a graver nature. Moreover persons of all ages, and conditions, and of each sex, resorted to them promiscuously^e: therefore they were intended for the accommodation of all, or at least of the greatest part of the inhabitants of Rome.

Marcellus' theatre, according to Victor^f, contained 30,000 sittings: Balbus', 30,095. So likewise, the author of another *Descriptio Urbis Romæ*, posterior to A. D. 410: Regio ix. Pompey's theatre, according to Pliny^g, would accommodate 40,000 spectators. Another reading, it is true, has the number 400,000 in this passage; for the proof of the absurdity of which statement, it is enough to refer to the note of the editor, *in locum*. The theatre of Scaurus, a temporary building, and much larger than Pompey's for the time, yet contained only 80,000 sittings^h. The same may be observed of a moveable theatre not long afterwards built by Curioⁱ.

The joint amount of these three theatres would be only 100,000 sittings; not so much more than the content of the single theatre of Scaurus. Yet both Lucan, U. C. 705, and Tacitus, U. C. 811, speak of Pompey's theatre alone, as competent to hold the greatest part of the people^k.

The Circus Maximus, however, was that particular quarter of Rome, to which the people resorted most for the sake of shows and diversions; and where in

^d Ovid, *Tristium* iii. xii. 23, 24. *Ars Amandi*, iii. 393, 394: Seneca, *De Ira*, ii. ix. 1. *De Clementia*, vi. 1. ^e Valerius Maximus, ii. iv. 3: Vitruvius, v. 3: Ovid, *Tristium* ii. i. 283, 284. *Amorum* iii. ii. passim. *Ars Amandi*, i. 97: 135. sqq: iii. 633, 634: Calpurnii *Eclogæ*, vi. 23—29, &c. ^f *Descriptio Urbis Romæ*, Regio ix. ^g H. N. xxxvi. 24. §. 7. ^h Pliny, *loc. cit.* Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis*, ii. 16. ⁱ Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 24. §. 8. ^k Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vii. 9—12. Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 54.

fact they spent almost the whole of their time¹. To illustrate its magnitude, and to shew that it was competent to furnish accommodation for nearly the whole of Rome, I shall produce only this one passage :

Interea Megalesiacæ spectacula mappæ,
Idæum solenne colunt, similisque triumpho
Præda caballorum Prætor sedet : ac, mihi pace
Immensæ, nimisæque licet si dicere plebis,
Totam hodie Romam Circus capit.

Juvenal, xi. 191—195.

Now the Circus Maximus, even after its enlargement by Julius Cæsar, in the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus^m is estimated to contain only 150,000 sittings; though Pliny states it in his time, to be capable of holding 260,000ⁿ. Dio speaks of it as further enlarged by Trajan, and rendered competent to hold the people (*δημος*) in his time^o: yet it would seem from Pliny the younger, that he added (about U.C. 851) no more than 5000 sittings^p: and long after this, Publius Victor^q describes it as capable of holding only 385,000 persons; and the author of the other description, before referred to, Regio xi. only 485,000: a statement which is very probably to be corrected by that of Victor.

If we take the sum of the content of these several theatres, from the time of Pompey to that of Pliny the elder, it seems that altogether they would not furnish accommodation for more than 360,000 spectators; which we may, therefore, justly presume represents the entire amount of the whole of the free population of Rome at least, of both sexes and of every age; for whose

¹ Ovid, *Ars Amandi*, i. 135, 136; Seneca, *De Ira*, ii. vii. 4; Juvenal, viii. 117, 118: x. 79—81; Calpurnius, *Eclogæ*, vii. 23—30; Herodian, ii. 26; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 4. p. 534. ^m Ant. Rom. iii. 68. Cf. i. 3: Cf. Livy, i. 35.

ⁿ H. N. xxxvi. 24. §. 1. ^o Lib. lxviii. 7. ^p Panegyricus, 51. Cf. Ibid. 28: Dio, lxviii. 5. ^q Descriptio, &c. Regio xi. Cf. Aurelius Victor, *De Constantino*.

convenience and amusement in particular all these buildings were primarily intended, and who alone would properly have a right to the use and enjoyment of them. How very exactly this conclusion, so obtained, squares with the numbers already deduced from the consideration of the various *congiaria*, distributed to the people throughout the same period, I need not observe. Either of them should serve to confirm the other.

I have said nothing, as yet, of the numbers of the slave population, nor of those of persons resident at Rome, whether foreigners, or not, who did not possess the rights of citizens, and therefore must be distinguished from the free population. It is a very difficult thing to say what was the proportion which the amount of either of these classes, living at Rome, bore to that of the freemen, at a given time. Neither of them would appear in the results of a proper Roman census; if that comprehended, as I believe it always did, none but the *libera capita*, and *cives Romani*, as such.

In the account of the census, mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ant. Rom. ix. 25, after stating what was the number of the male citizens and adults, he tells us that the amount of the women and children, the slaves, and the *ἐμποροι*, or foreigners, was three times as many. It is evident, however, that we can build nothing upon the fact of such a proportion in this isolated case, in deducing a general rule, that the same thing would always hold good. Very strong descriptions indeed may be met with in different authors, from the time of Cæsar to that of Antoninus Pius, of the number of strangers or aliens, settled at Rome; as though entire communities or nations existed there, in

the midst of its native population, and this one city presented an epitome of the whole world^r.

But it is not probable that the number of strangers at any time resident in the capital was allowed to do more than equal the native population: if it did so, they were considered dangerous, and it was usual to expel them from it: of which we have an instance, U. C. 689^s. The Jews in particular were often so treated; yet, U. C. 751, when Archelaus was at Rome, about his father's will, we read only of 8000, resident in the city, who joined the deputation from the mother country to oppose his appointment to the throne. This does not imply that they were so very numerous.

Seneca has a statement (De Clementia, xxiv. 1.*) which, unless great allowance is to be made for his usual declamatory manner of speaking on every subject, clearly implies that the number of slaves at Rome was at least two to one, in proportion to that of the citizens. Certain it is, that individual Roman citizens possessed numerous families of slaves, some many thousands in amount; though not all of them perhaps resident in the city: and so common was this species of property at this period of Roman history, that we can scarcely conceive a single citizen so poor, as not to be worth *one* slave. Yet in the time of Xenophon, though the gross amount of the slave population in proportion to that of the free, was probably as great at Athens as in any other community that can be mentioned, we may infer from his De Vectigalibus, iv. 17, that even there it was not in the proportion of *three* to *one*.

* Cf. Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, ii. 120.

^r Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 510—514. vii. 399—407: Seneca, Consolatio ad Helviam, vi. 2, 3: Athenæus, i. 36: Aristides, xiv. 'Ρώμης Ἐγκώμιον, 348. i. sqq. ^s Dio, xxxvii. 9.

Upon the whole, then, we may conclude, that if the gross amount of the free population of Rome, at a given time, was 320,000; that of slaves, and strangers, and of others, not freemen of the city but living there, was, perhaps, six or seven hundred thousand more : so as to make the total of the inhabitants of the city, at the given time in question, about a million.

I shall proceed to confirm this conclusion, in the last place, by a comparison of the magnitude of Rome with that of other celebrated cities; especially those which in numbers and grandeur are allowed to have rivalled it most nearly : viz. ancient Carthage; Alexandria in Egypt; Seleucia ad Tigrim; and Antioch in Syria^t. And first of Carthage.

If we may judge of the magnitude and opulence of ancient Carthage, by those of New Carthage, founded upon the site of the old, U. C. 710 : we find Herodian^u observing of the latter city, in the reign of Maximin, A. D. 237 : ἡ γοῦν πόλις ἐκείνη καὶ δυνάμει χρημάτων, καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων, καὶ μεγέθει, μόνῃς Ῥώμης ἀπολείπεται, φιλονεικοῦσα πρὸς τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν περὶ δευτερείων. To the like effect, Ausonius, of the same city in his days, that it acknowledged no superior but Rome, not even Constantinople.

Constantinopoli adsurgit Carthago priori,

Non toto cessura gradu; quia tertia dici

Fastidit^x. De Nobilibus Urbibus Carmen ii. 1—3.

Servius, ad Æneidem i. 367, 368, informs us from the Vita illustrium of Cornelius Nepos, that ancient Carthage consisted of an inner and an outer town; the former called Byrsa, the original settlement, as encompassed by the bull's hide—of 22 stades in circuit; the

^t Vide Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 5. 304. Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 52 : Dio Chrysostom, Oratio xxxii. 669. 45 : Aristides, Oratio xiv. 333. l. 9 : Pausanias, viii. 33 : Seneca, Epistolæ, 102 §. 21. ^u Lib. vii. 14. ^x Cf. Photius, Bibliotheca, Codex 243. p. 376. l. 30. Himerii Sophistæ Μελέται.

latter called Magalia. We know that it was situated on a chersonesus, or peninsula, the breadth of the $\alpha\upsilon\chi\eta\nu$ or neck of which, where it was contiguous to the main land, and in which direction only it was accessible by land, Polybius and Appian state at 25 stades^v, though Strabo puts it, apparently, at 60^w. The circuit of Carthage is estimated by Livy^x at 23 Roman miles, that is, 184 stades; but by Strabo *loc. cit.* at 360 stades. The numbers of Strabo in this instance are probably corrupt, or were intended to be understood of much more than the circuit of the city. If we reduce this statement of the circuit of the city, in proportion to that of the breadth of the isthmus, as corrected by Appian and Polybius, the real extent of Carthage, according to Strabo, was about one half of 360 stades, that is, 180, or nearly so: which will agree with the statement of Livy.

Now when Carthage went to war with Rome on the last occasion, B.C. 149, she is said by Strabo^y to have been mistress of 300 cities in Africa, and to have contained a population of 700,000 souls. If this is a correct statement of the population of a city 180 stades in circuit, it seems absurd to suppose that any city, before or after its time, of still inferior magnitude in point of extent, could contain a greater number of inhabitants.

Let us now consider the magnitude of Alexandria, and the number of its inhabitants; in both which respects it was acknowledged by general consent to be the second city in the empire, and scarcely inferior to Rome itself.

The shape of Alexandria is compared to that of a Macedonian chlamys^z; a species of military cloak,

^v Polybius, i. 73. ^w Appian, De Rebus Punicis, viii. 95. 119. ^x Liv. li. 3. §. 15. 673. ^y Lib. xvii. 3. ^z Cf. Servius ad Georg. iv. 287.

which resembled, when stretched out on the ground, a curvilinear oblong, contracted at the two ends or corners *. Its oblong sides, which Strabo calls τὰ ἀμφίκλυστα, he describes as thirty stades in *diameter*; its sides, ἐπὶ πλάτος, as seven or eight stades apiece ^a. This implies a periphery of 76 stades at least.

Agrippa, in his speech to the Jews of Jerusalem, U. C. 819, represents it as thirty stades in length, and ten in breadth; that is, as of eighty stades' circuit, in all ^b.

Stephanus, De Urbibus ^c, states its length at 34, its breadth at eight stades; and its perimeter, at 110. But $34 \times 2 + 8 \times 2 =$ only 84. Quintus Curtius computes its perimeter at 80 stades ^d: Pliny at xv. Roman miles ^e, which are equal to 120 stades. It had an harbour of thirty stades in extent ^f: and whatever was its original magnitude, as laid out by its founder, we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus ^g, it continued the same, or did not much vary from its first dimensions.

In Diodorus' account of its foundation ^h, B. C. 331, there is no express statement of the extent of ground covered by it. It is described merely as resembling

* Pliny describes it (H. N. v. 11.) Ad effigiem Macedonicæ chlamydis orbe gyrato laciniosam, dextra lævaque anguloso procursu. No doubt the ground on which it was situated (viz. the part between the Lacus Mareotis on the south, and the sea to the north) was previously somewhat of that shape. We learn from Cæsar, De Bello Civili, and Hirtius, De Bello A-

lexandrino, that the city was not of uniform breadth at the two corners in question, and that the narrowest part was next to the Pharos: also that there was a considerable difference in the altitude of the different parts of the city, that some were many feet lower than others: viz. the parts nearest to the Pharos. De Bell. Civ. iii. 111, 112: De Bell. Alex. 1, 2. 6—9, &c.

^a Lib. xvii. 1. §. 8. 502. ^b Jos. De Bello Jud. ii. xvi. 4. p. 482. ^c Ἀλεξάνδρεια. ^d Lib. iv. viii. 2. ^e H. N. v. 11. ^f Jos. De Bell. Jud. iv. x. 5: Eustathius, ad Dionysium Periegetem, 254. Apud Geographos Minores, iv. ^g Lib. xxii. 16. p. 343. ^h Lib. xvii. 52.

the Macedonian chlamys, and as having a street forty stades in length, and a plethrum, or 100 feet in breadth, which passed through it from one gate to another. These gates, as we may collect from Achilles Tatiusⁱ, went by the name of the sun's and the moon's respectively: the street in question had a colonnade of pillars on each side of it, and was cut by another, in an oblique direction, almost of equal size and beauty. The whole city was divided into five regions, called after the first five letters of the Greek alphabet; a division which is recognised by the author of the *Res Gestæ Alexandri*^k, published by Angelo Maio, with this further explanation of the denominations themselves, that the five letters were taken from the initials of the words in the following proposition, which they were intended to express: 'Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς γένος ἐποίησεν.

If these regions were laid out at the foundation of the city, it is probable that they were nearly equal in size, and that each of them was one fifth of the extent of the whole. The Jews had possession of two of the five; one of them, the fourth in order or the Delta; a quarter bordering on the sea, and represented by Josephus as among the finest in the city^l, probably as being the airiest and most healthy.

In the persecution of the Jews of Alexandria, by Flaccus Aquilius, the governor of Egypt, U. C. 791, they were forcibly ejected from one of these quarters, and obliged all of them to take refuge in the other. At that time 400 houses are said to have been rifled, and a vast number of myriads turned out of doors; for whose accommodation their new quarters being much too

ⁱ De Clitophontis et Leucippes Amoribus, v. 1. Cf. Strabo, loc. cit. ^k Lib. i. 28. ^l Contra Apionem, ii. 4: Ant. Jud. xiv. vii. 2: De Bell. ii. xviii. 8: Philo, Adversus Flaccum, ii. 525. 21. sqq.

small, multitudes were compelled to seek shelter on the sea shore, or among the tombs and dunghills, or wherever they could ^m.

Upon another occasion, in a sedition at Alexandria, U. C. 819, 50,000 Jews lost their lives at once ⁿ; which, I should think, to judge from the context of the account, was about one third of their numbers at that time living in the city. This makes the entire Jewish population of Alexandria about 150,000 : which being estimated at two-fifths of the whole, would make the entire population of the city about 375,000. This must be considered the sum total of the free population ; for the Jews of Alexandria were all citizens, as much as the Greeks.

In the time of Diodorus^o, who visited Egypt, Olymp. 180, about B. C. 60, U. C. 694, Alexandria contained a free population of 300,000 and upwards, as he ascertained from the public register or album of citizens. At the same time the general population of Egypt was about three millions. By the time of the breaking out of the Jewish war, U. C. 819, this general population had mounted upwards to 7,500,000, as we shall see elsewhere ; exclusive of the population of Alexandria. It was to be expected that the population of Alexandria would increase also, if the general population of the country did the same ; though not in the same proportion with that : and therefore that if its free population, B. C. 60, was about 300,000, it might be about 375,000, U. C. 819, A. D. 66.

The statement of Diodorus which professes to give the number of the ἐλεύθεροι, in his time, must be understood to comprehend all who were entitled to that denomination, whether male or female, young or old,

^m Philo, *Adversus Flaccum loco citato*, et ii. 531. 5 : *De Virtutibus*, ii. 563. 27. sqq. ⁿ Jos. Bell. Jud. ii. xviii. 7, 8. ^o Lib. xvii. 52 ; i. 31. 44. 83.

in opposition to those who were not. We have seen that at Rome, in the time of the emperors, an account of the births of children was strictly kept, and by the proper officers, as well as in the provinces: and we may collect from a letter of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in the reign of Gallienus, about A. D. 256^p, that persons of all ages, from puberty to 80, were included in the roll of citizens, kept there in his time.

As it is admitted that Alexandria, whatever was the extent of ground which it covered, whether 80 stades, or 120, yet in wealth, grandeur, and the number of its inhabitants, was very nearly equal to Rome; it is to be presumed that the population of the one, at any time during a given period, would be found almost on a par with that of the other, for the same. We have computed the population of Rome for the reign of Augustus at about a million: and we may compute that of Alexandria at seven or eight hundred thousand. In the number of its citizens, or free men, the *δημος* properly so called—I should be disposed to think that Alexandria was actually equal to Rome, if not greater than it. The difference between their comparative total population consisted probably in the greater number of slaves and strangers, mixed up with the population of Rome, than with that of Alexandria. The latter were perhaps in the proportion of two or three to one at Rome; but not more than in that of one or two to one at Alexandria, or in any other city, however great, besides Rome*.

* A fact is mentioned by Procopius, *De Historia Arcana*, xxvi. 77. D. which may throw some light on the magnitude and numbers of Alexandria in comparison of those of Rome. He observes there, incidentally,

that Διοκλητιανὸς Ῥωμαίων γεγωνὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, σίτου μέγα τι χρῆμα δίδουσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων τοῖς δεομένοις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος διώρισε: the time of which ordinance, though no otherwise specified by Procopius than as

^p Eusebius, *E. H.* vii. xxi. 267, *ad calcem*.

The next city, the magnitude of which we shall consider, is Seleucia ad Tigrim: the chief Grecian city in Upper Asia, and founded by Seleucus Nicator, about B. C. 312, in the vicinity of Ninus, the ancient Nineveh, and Babylon. The wealth and opulence of this single city may be judged of from the fact, that, though isolated by its situation, and almost in the midst of the Parthian dominions, it was yet able to set their power at defiance, and for a long time to maintain its own independence^q.

Though not equal in size and population to Alexandria^r, it was not much inferior to it: and their equality may be further estimated from this fact, that as the Jews of Egypt lost 50,000 of their numbers, U. C.

above, would probably be when Diocletian reduced Alexandria, in the thirteenth of his reign, A. D. 296 or 297, according to Jerome in Chronico. This allowance, it seems, continued down to Procopius' own time; when Hephæstus, præfect of Alexandria, under Justinian, to please the emperor, ἔνθενδε μυριάδας ἐς διακοσίας ἐπετείους μεδίμνων τοὺς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζοντας ἀφελόμενος τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐντέθεικε.

If we may understand the medimni, here spoken of, as meaning modii, which I think the necessity of the case requires, then two hundred myriads are equivalent to two millions of modii: and two millions of modii annually are at the rate of about 166,000 per month: and 166,000 per month, at the rate of one modius among five persons, would be adequate to the daily supply of about 33,000 persons.

It is evident that these reci-

pients in the present instance are restricted to the poorer part of the Alexandrine community as such; the δέομενοι or the ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζοντες. The question is, what proportion would these bear to the gross population, and how is that to be ascertained? By the same rule, we may answer, as at Antioch; where we shall see, by and by, that Chrysostom, while he reckons the δῆμος in the gross at 200,000, estimates the poor in particular at a tenth of the whole P. On this principle the poor of Alexandria would be one tenth of the δῆμος—and therefore the poor amounting to 33,000 persons, the δῆμος amounted to 330,000, and upwards. It is true, this is a computation instituted for the reign of Justinian. But mutatis mutandis, it might apply to the time of Augustus.

p In like manner, Operum ix. 93. D. In Acta Apostolorum Homilia xi. 3, he estimates the poor of Constantinople at 50,000: which if the numbers of the δῆμος were nearly 500,000 not many years before (see page 38. supra) is evidently a just proportion. q Tacitus, Annales, xi. 8, 9. r Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 5. 304. Cf. 1. §. 5. 252. §. 16. 274.

819, who were living at Alexandria, so did those of Babylonia lose the same number of theirs, U. C. 791, who were living at Seleucia^s.

We are told by Jerome in *Chronico*, that when Seleucia was taken by Avidius Cassius, in the Parthian war, U. C. 917, the fourth of Marcus Aurelius, it contained a population of 300,000. If this be understood of the free population, it is very much in proportion to what was probably the amount of that both of Rome and of Alexandria, at the same period of time. When Pliny was writing, however, viz. U. C. 830, he mentions it as a report which he had heard of its numbers^t, that it contained 600,000 *plebis urbanæ*. The necessity of the case seems to require that this should be understood of its entire population: in which case, the magnitude of this city will actually bear that proportion to the size and grandeur of Alexandria, which from the comparative estimate of their respective extent, left on record, we should naturally expect to find it did.

Let us consider, in the last place, the magnitude of Antioch upon the Orontes, the metropolis of Syria; of which Josephus observes, that in his time it was confessedly to be reckoned the third principal city in the empire^u: meaning that it was inferior only to Rome, and Alexandria in Egypt.

Strabo calls Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea, the four largest cities of Syria^v. Of these, Apamea, according to an inscription in Orellius^x, at the time of the census of Syria, by Quirinus, U. C. 760, contained a population of 117,000 citizens, which I should consider equivalent to a gross population of two or three hundred thousand. Antioch undoubtedly was more populous than Apamea.

^s Jos. Ant. Jud. xviii. ix. 1. 9. ^t H. N. vi. 30. ^u De Bello, iii. ii. 4:
Cf. Herodian, iv. 5. Ausonius, De Urbibus Nobilibus, carmen 3. ^v Lib. xvi.
2. §. 4. 302. ^x Synagoge Inscriptionum, vol. i. art. 625. p. 459.

Those who have described Antioch, tell us it was τετράπολις, consisting of four divisions, as added or augmented by different founders at different times, with a distinct wall to each division, and a common one to the four. It was founded originally by Seleucus, on the site or in the vicinity of Antigonía, a city so named from its founder Antigonus, who was defeated and killed in battle, B. C. 301*. The first division was consequently his work; the next was added by its own inhabitants; the third by Seleucus Callinicus, or Antiochus Magnus; the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes^y. Its principal street ran from east to west, with a colonnade on either side of it, and a stone pavement between. The rest of the streets branched out from this at right angles, north and south^z. Josephus tells us that among the other munificent actions of Herod done abroad, he paved this street with marble, the length of which he says was 20 stades^a; besides providing it with a colonnade also, upon each side of it, as long as the street. But we may collect from Dio Chrysostom, that Antioch was 36 stades in length^b; in which case the dimensions of the street are underrated in Josephus. On this principle too, the perimeter of the city was at least 72 stades in all.

Libanius, indeed^c, *loc. cit.*, says the difference of magnitude between the city in his time, and the city as originally built, was 40 stades. Whether he means Antigonía, or the Antioch of Seleucus, does not clearly appear. I apprehend the former. If Antioch was

* Both Eusebius and Jerome would be soon after the battle in Chronico date its foundation. So also Syn- cellus, i. 520. 5.
in the twelfth of Seleucus, de-
duced from B. C. 312, which

^y Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 4. 303: Libanius, *Antiochica Oratio*, i. 309. 10, l. 14. 310, &c.: Eustathius, ad Dionysium *Periegetem*, 917. *Geographi Minores*, iv. ^z Libanius, *Antiochica Oratio*, 337. l. 15. sqq. ^a De Bell. i. xxi. 11. Ant. xvi. v. 3.
^b *Oratio* xlvii. 229. 15. ^c 299. l. 18.

twice the size of the original city, it was about eighty stades in circuit; and this, I think, is not more than ought to be allowed to a city, inferior only by a little to Alexandria and to Rome.

The military population of Antioch, in the reign of Demetrius, B. C. 145 or 144, according to the 1st of Maccabees^d, amounted to not less than 120,000; which implies a gross population of not less than 480,000. When Antiochus Sidetes was defeated in Upper Asia, by the Parthians, (B. C. 130.) its population seems to be represented at 300,000, and more^e.

But in the time of Chrysostom, a contemporary of Libanius, the *δημος* or people of Antioch as such, are plainly stated at 20 myriads, 200,000^f: and that this statement is correct, and must be understood of the whole of its free population in his time, appears from other statements, which occur in his works elsewhere; as that the numbers of the church at Antioch were 100,000; the amount of the poor, or of such as stood in need of relief among its inhabitants, was a tenth part of the number, or 20,000^g. In each of these statements, the women and the children would necessarily be included, as well as the men.

Though we might suppose from the highflown and hyperbolical description of the grandeur, opulence, and prosperity of Antioch, which is given in the *Oratio Antiochica* of Libanius, that its numbers were never greater than in his time, yet I doubt whether there was much difference between them then and in the reign of Augustus. To assume them, therefore, as pretty nearly the same at each of these periods, we may observe how exactly proportionate the size of

^d Ch. xi. 45. 47.

106. l. 10—19.

cap. 4.

657. E. 658. A. B. Homilia lxvi. 3.

^e Excerpta Diodori, lib. xxxiv. Apud SS. Deperditos, ii.

^f Operum ii. 597. A. Homilia In S. Ignatium Martyrem,

^g Operum vii. 810. A. in Matthæum Homilia lxxv. 4: and Ibid.

Antioch with a free population of 200,000 is to that of Alexandria with one of 300,000, and to that of Rome with one of 320,000, at the same period of time. If such was the actual ratio of their free population, it is no wonder that they were usually reckoned to be almost on a par with each other; and the third of them not much more inferior to the second, than the second was to the first. Making the same allowance for the mixture of slaves and strangers with the free population of Antioch, as we did for that of Alexandria, viz. in the proportion of one or two to one; if we must reckon the free population of Antioch about 200,000, we may estimate the gross population at three or four hundred thousand more; between five and six hundred thousand in all*.

* The above conclusion is not inconsistent with certain facts relative to Antioch and its subsequent history—which occur in Procopius and other authorities. For example, the fact that 300,000 of its inhabitants perished in the earthquake experienced by it in the reign of Justin I: Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, ii. 14. It appears from Evagrius, *E. H.* iv. 5. 383. C. that this earthquake happened May 29, A. D. 525 or 526, and Marcellinus Comes dates it accordingly A. D. 526, in the eighth of Justin. We can hardly suppose it lost more than half of its population upon that occasion. Antioch was taken by the Persians under Chosroes in the reign of Justinian, A. D. 540, and burnt by them to the ground. Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, ii. 5—10. Cf. Evagrius *E. H.* iv. 25. 398. B—D. Perhaps it never recovered its splendour after that catastrophe, though Justinian rebuilt it, and gave it the name

of Theopolis or Theüpolis: see Procopius, *De Ædificiis*, ii. 10. Cf. Evagrius, *Ecclesiastica Hist.* i. 3. 258. D: though the latter authority indeed tells us it was rebuilt and called by its new name in consequence of a second earthquake, thirty months later than the former, the date of which was Nov. 29, A. D. 528: and consequently coming within the reign of Justinian; for that bears date from August 1, A. D. 527. See Evagrius, iv. 6. 384. B: 9. 387. B. Another earthquake in which 60,000 of the inhabitants of Antioch were reported to have lost their lives, is also recorded by Evagrius, *E. H.* vi. 8. 450. C. 451. B. sixty one years after the last mentioned, and consequently A. D. 589, in the seventh of the emperor Mauricius: and the number which perished on this occasion being so much smaller in comparison than that of those who perished on the former, it is some argument of the

I shall conclude these observations with some remarks, in the last place, on the probable magnitude of the city of Rome, or the extent of ground covered by it, at the period of time of which we have hitherto been treating.

The form and construction of Rome, in the days of Augustus, and before the fire in U. C. 817, A. D. 64, which destroyed either wholly or in part, *ten* out of its fourteen *Regiones*, are described by Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 40–44. And that it was rebuilt pretty much the same as before that accident, appears from Pliny, *H. N.* iii. 9. Publius Victor, *Descriptio Urbis Romæ*, &c. *

Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that the *Pomœrium* of Rome, up to his time, had not been extended beyond the limits fixed to it in the reign of Servius Tullius^b; and that the additions subsequently made to the magnitude of the city, consisted in the suburbs, or parts beyond the *Pomœrium*, and unenclosed by a wall. He observes also that the size of the city, in his own time, as collected from its original boundaries, was not much greater than that of Athens, exclusive of the *Piræus*ⁱ; and Athens, as it might be shewn from various authorities, so restricted, was about 60 stades in circuit^k. After the time of Dionysius, however, (who wrote his history about U. C. 747,) the walls were en-

gradual decay of the size and population of the city from that time to this. Perhaps no city in the empire ever suffered more at different times from earthquakes, than Antioch. Evagrius, himself a native of Antioch, and an eyewitness of many of these visitations, has been careful to

record them, and to specify the order of their occurrence in the historical series of visitations of like kind.

* Cf. the description of Rome as it is given by Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 10. at the time of the visit paid it by Constantius, A. D. 356.

^b *Ant. Rom.* iv. 13. Yet both Sylla and Julius Cæsar enlarged the *Pomœrium* more or less before the time of Dionysius. Cf. A. Gellius, xiii. 14. Dio, xliii. 50. (U. C. 710.) Tacitus, *Annales*, xii. 23, 24. ⁱ *Ibid.* iv. 13: ix. 68: Cf. Dionysius Halic. *Epitome*, xii. 21: *Ant. Rom.* ii. 54. ^k Thucydides, ii. 13. and Schol. in loc.: Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* vi. 199. §. 25; xxv. 521. §. 45; Aristides, *Oratio* xiii. 305. §. 5.

larged, so as at the time of the census, U. C. 826, in the reign of Vespasian, to embrace a compass of 13 Roman miles at least. Cf. Pliny, H. N. iii. 9. p. 611.

The suburbs of Rome, notwithstanding, extended at all times much beyond the limits of its walls. Were we to construe literally a passage in Aristides¹, we should conclude that when he was writing, viz. in the reign of Antoninus Pius, a wall of 20 parasangs, or 600 stades in extent, that is, 75 Roman miles, would have been requisite to compass the whole about. But there is no doubt that he is speaking of a figurative not a literal wall.

The suburbs were actually enclosed, A. D. 271, in the reign of Aurelian^m*, by a wall of nearly 50 Roman miles in circumference: and we are further informed upon the authority of Olympiodorus, that just before the capture of the city by the Goths, A. D. 410, the *διάστημα*, or distance of the walls, being measured by the geometrician Ammon, was found to be 21 Roman milesⁿ. The shape of ancient Rome was semicircular, the circumference of the semicircle being formed by its

* Jerome, in Chronico, dates this fact in the fourth of Aurelian, A. D. 274. and Vopiscus gives some countenance to the statement. The truth appears to be, that the enlargement of the walls was begun, A. D. 271, but not finished until the Pomærium was advanced forwards A. D. 274, after Aurelian's successful expeditions in the East. Cf. Aurelius Victor, and the Epitome, in Aureliano. Zosimus, i. p. 43: *ἐτερίχισθη δὲ τότε ἡ Ῥώμη, πρότερον ἀτείχιστος οὖσα. καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξ Αὐρηλιανοῦ, συνεπλη-*

ρώθη βασιλεύοντος Πρόβου τὸ τεῖχος: sometime between A. D. 270 and 276. The Fasti Idatiani, p. 29, date the commencement of the work, Coss. Aureliano et Basso, A. D. 271. Aurelius Victor, De Antonino (Caracalla) speaks of a great accession as made to the city in his reign by the addition of the Via Nova; and De Aureliano, mentions that the distribution of pork to the Plebs Romana began to bear date from his reign downwards. Cf. the Epitome, and Zosimus, ii. p. 79.

¹ Ῥώμης Ἐγκώμιον, Oratio xiv. 355. 3. 356. 2. ^m Vopiscus, Aurelianus, 21. 39: Eckhel, vii. 479. ⁿ Photius, Codex 80. pag. 63. l. 27. sqq. Olympiodori Historica. De Olympiodoro, see the introduction of the article by Photius, and Zosimus, v. p. 332. He was a native of Thebes in Egypt.

wall, the diameter by the Tiber; upon which both ends of the wall rested *. If the distance here alluded to is meant of the diameter of the semicircle, it implies that the circumference was about half as much more in extent as that; viz. 31 Roman miles. If it expresses the radius of the semicircle, or the distance of the extreme point at the centre of the circumference from the middle of the diameter, it implies that the entire circumference of the semicircle was about three of these radii, that is, 60 Roman miles. And this, I should consider, was the meaning of Olympiodorus; because it is more agreeable to the statement of the circuit of the wall, from the time of Aurelian to his own, as attested by Vopiscus. If that circuit was 50 Roman miles, A. D. 271–300, it might be 60, A. D. 410: but if it was only 30, A. D. 410, it is scarcely conceivable that it could have been 50, A. D. 271.

It must be confessed, however, that there are other particulars relating to the magnitude of Rome, in the same passage of Olympiodorus, which are so extraordinary as to throw discredit upon his testimony. For example; the fact that in a short time after the capture of the city by the Goths, when it was only beginning to recover itself from the shock given to its prosperity by that calamity, Albinus, the governor of Rome, wrote to the emperor to inform him that the usual allowance of corn to the people was no longer sufficient for the increase daily taking place in their numbers. As a proof of which he mentioned that

* That Rome lay principally, if not entirely, on one side of the Tiber, appears from the observation of Zosimus, ii. 86: with reference to the bridge built over it by Maxentius, A. D. 312, against the approach of

Constantine: *μὴ συνάψας πᾶσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τῆς πρὸς τῇ πόλει, μέχρι τῆς ἄλλης.* Cf. Procopius' account of the siege of Rome, A. D. 537. *De Bello Gotthico*, i. 19. p. 93. l. 18. sqq.

14,000 children had been born in one day°. If these numbers in Photius are not grossly corrupted, we might well believe, upon the authority of such a statement, that Rome contained, or would soon come to contain, at this period of its history, 14,000,000 of inhabitants.

Had the assertion been that 14,000 children were born in one year, it would have been perfectly credible, and consistent with what was probably the real state of the case: viz. that Rome at this period contained a free population of between 4 and 500,000. The content of the Circus Maximus, for the same period, is represented by the anonymous author of the *Descriptio Urbis Romæ*, before quoted, at 485,000, and by Publius Victor, not long before, at 385,000. The proportion of new births in a large population, like that of a crowded city, every year, may be reckoned about one thirtieth of the whole: on which principle, if 14,000 children had been born at Rome in one year, about A. D. 411, Rome contained 420,000 free inhabitants.

Whatever be the language in which contemporary writers speak of the numbers or magnitude of Rome, it is necessary to make great allowances for it: especially if such things as very large and very populous cities, with some few exceptions, besides Rome itself, were then uncommon. That it was the greatest and most populous city in the empire, and perhaps in the known world, for the time of Augustus, may indeed be admitted; and independent of the extent of ground actually covered by it, the houses were many stories high, and a number of families, or of different individuals, often lived in the same house,

° Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ut supra, p. 59. l. 30. sqq.

upon the several floors or stories of it ^p: a circumstance, however, not peculiar to Rome, but characteristic of many other cities of the empire. Yet Strabo tells us, it was a regulation of Augustus that no building by the side of the public streets, should exceed seventy feet from the ground in height ^q; and Juvenal speaks of the third loft or story, apparently as the uppermost or highest of all ^r.

There is no doubt too, that even within the walls of Rome, there was a variety of spaces (as *lacus*, *campi*, *horti*, *fora*, &c.) unoccupied by buildings; and still more, the site of buildings which could not in any wise contribute to the number of the inhabitants, such as baths, aqueducts, porticos, temples, courts, theatres, museums, amphitheatres, &c.; however much they might add to the size of the place in general; and that the houses of the Roman grandes or rich men were almost always of a magnitude very disproportionate to the number of their owners ^s. We read even that on two occasions, a single palace of the reigning emperor, first that of Caius, and afterwards that of Nero, was of such dimensions as to run round, or compass, the whole city ^t.

Let us consider then, in the last place, the passage of Pliny ^u, which describes the magnitude and extent of Rome, as it was in his time, U. C. 830.

Mœnia ejus collegere ambitu imperatoribus censoribusque Vespasianis anno conditæ 826, pass. xiii. M. cc. Complexa montes septem, ipsa dividitur in regiones quatuordecim, compita Larium cclxv. ejusdem spatium,

^p Dionysius Halic. x. 32: Plutarch, Sylla, i: Tibullus, ii. vi. 37—40: Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 23. 337: Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ii. 8: Cf. *Æschines*, *Oratio* i. 124.
^q Lib. v. §. 7. 166. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, *De Trajano*, tells us that Trajan afterwards limited this altitude to sixty feet; for the reasons there assigned.
^r Sat. iii. 199. ^s Cf. Photius, loc. cit. 63. 17. sqq: Publius Victor, *Descriptio*, &c. ^t Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 24, 5: Suetonius, Nero, 31: Cf. Herodian, iv. 1.
^u H. N. iii. 9. p. 611.

mensura currente a milliario in capite Romani Fori statuto, ad singulas portas, quæ sunt hodie numero triginta septem, ita ut duodecim semel numerentur, prætereanturque ex veteribus septem, quæ esse desiderunt, efficit passuum per directum xxx. m. DCCLXV. ad extrema vero tectorum, cum castris Prætoriiis*, ab eodem milliario, per vicos omnium viarum, mensura colligit paulo amplius septuaginta millia passuum. quo si quis altitudinem tectorum addat, dignam profecto æstimationem concipiat, fateaturque nullius urbis magnitudinem in toto orbe potuisse ei comparari.

That the reading of xiii Roman miles for the extent of the walls as such, in this passage, is correct, appears from the testimony of the best manuscripts; and as to the rest of the description, which speaks of 30 miles and of 70 miles and upwards, distinct from these, I think it is to be explained consistently with the previous statement, as follows.

In order to specify the mere perimeter or circuit of Rome, nothing more, it is manifest, could be done than to assign the length of its wall, as ascertained by the last measurement. But, in order to give an adequate idea of the extent of ground covered by it, or of the superficial content of the site of the city, as enclosed by its wall, Pliny adopts the method of supposing a person to start from the *Milliarium aureum*, the common head of all the *viæ*, or roads, which led from Rome, into the country, in any direction; and to follow the course of each road as far as the gate of the city by which it passed into the country, but no fur-

* The Prætorian cohorts, as it is well known, were first formed into one encampment by Tiberius. See Tacitus, Dio, Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, De

Tiberio. The site of this encampment it thus appears was Ad extrema tectorum; but still within the city.

ther; and he gives, as he imagines, an adequate idea of the magnitude of the place, by telling us, that one who thus made the round of the roads, would have to travel 30 miles and upwards, *per directum*, from the milliarium; and 70 miles and upwards, *per vicos omnium viarum*, before he could even get out of the city. This would be in fact almost a three days' journey.

Of the *viæ* or roads in question, all set out from the same point, the *milliarium aureum**, and all passed through some gate of the city or other. These gates Pliny tells us, were 37 in number; but that seven of them were no longer in being; that is, had either been blocked up, or rendered impassable, so that no roads passed through them. All the roads then passed through the remainder in general, which were 30 in number. Each of these roads, it is to be supposed, after setting out from the *milliarium*, would proceed some distance in a straight line (*per directum*); though it is not less probable that each somewhere or other must diverge from that right line, in passing to the gate by which it left the city.

Following each of the roads—only *per directum*, or in this first part of their course, a person would have to travel 30 miles and upwards; but following them through the whole of their course, not only along the straight line, but after they began to turn off, in one direction or another, *per vicos omnium viarum*, and *ad extrema tectorum*, (which I consider to mean, to the *Pomœrium* as such, an open space within a certain distance of the wall, inside as well as outside of the

* Erected by Augustus, U.C. 734. Dio, liv. 8. Of the Via Sacra in particular this is proved

to have been the case, by Herodian, ii. 34, and iv. 3.

city, where the buildings would consequently end *,) he would have to travel upwards of 70 miles.

We observe that of twelve of the thirty gates, Pliny says, *Ut semel numerentur*; which I understand to refer to this fact, that through each of these twelve gates, certain two or more of the roads in question passed: notwithstanding which, it was evidently necessary to Pliny's argument, that in the general computation of the distance to be travelled along each road, *per directum*, it should be so reckoned as though no more than one road passed through each gate. Publius Victor, it is true, and the other author above referred to, both state the number of *viæ publicæ* in their time at 29. But this is no proof that they might not be more numerous in the time of Pliny: as many as the gates of the city, when most numerous, or even more†.

As the areas of circles, though proportional to, are not equal to, the squares of their diameters; if the diameter of the semicircular area of Rome was about nine Roman miles, in the time of Pliny, the area of the semicircle was about one half of 9×9 , or 81 Roman miles; that is, about 40 square Roman miles. If we were to suppose the whole of this area to have been built upon with houses, and the ground floor of every house to have been only ten yards square, about

* *Pomœrium autem urbis est, quod ante muros spatium sub certa mensura dimissum est. sed et aliquibus urbibus et intra muros simili modo est statutum, propter custodiam fundamentorum, quod a privatis operibus obtineri non oportebit: Aggenus Urbicus: in Frontinum de limitibus agrorum, (Rei Agrariæ SS. p. 58.) Cf. in particular Livy, i. 44. A. Gellius, xiii.*

14. and Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii. 9. p. 497.

† In the course of time the number of gates would very probably decrease, and that of the *Viæ Publicæ* also. Thus, when Rome was besieged by the Goths in the reign of Justinian, A. D. 537, Procopius, *De Bello Gotthico*, i. 19, speaks of the *περίβολος* as containing only 14 *πύλας, καὶ πυλίδας τινάς*.

30,976 houses would have stood on every square mile; and about 1,239,040 houses, in the whole. This calculation makes no allowance for streets, or vacant spaces, or uninhabited buildings—or for the general inequality of the size of the houses in Rome, one compared with another, which we know to have been very considerable: and consequently as to the actual number of dwelling-houses in Rome, it is doubtless prodigiously beyond the truth. That number, at no time, probably amounted to 50,000. The anonymous author above quoted reckons the sum total of *Insulæ* and *Domus* at Rome (which together made up the aggregate of its inhabited dwellings) at 46,602 + 1,780; that is, 48,382 in all *. The calculation is proposed as one which, under the circumstances of the case, should be received as nearly tantamount to the number of the inhabitants both of Rome and of its suburbs: that is to say, we could scarcely reckon for Rome itself in a calculation of dwelling-houses so made, half an inhabitant to each house: on which principle, the sum total of the population of Rome and of her suburbs in the time of Pliny might be computed at about one million, but not at much more.

* Publius Victor, for the several *Regiones*, fourteen in number, has 45,795 *Insulæ*, and 1830 *Domus*, or 47,625 in all.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XVI.

On the Jewish and Julian dates of the several years of the Jewish War.

Vide Dissertation xv. vol. ii. page 65. line 16.

BEFORE the reader proceeds to the details of the most melancholy *septennium*, or *octennium*, which is to be found in the history of the world; it will doubtless be an acceptable service to him, if he is furnished with the means of reducing the Jewish dates, which repeatedly occur in Josephus' account of these times, to their corresponding Julian ones. It is true, we had occasion to do this formerly in part; more especially for the years U. C. 819. and U. C. 823. It may not however be taken amiss, if I exhibit at once, in the following calendar, for all the years in question, from U. C. 819—U. C. 826, the two cardinal dates in a Jewish year; the 15th of Nisan, and the 15th of Tisri respectively; by the assistance of which there is no difficulty in ascertaining any of the rest. This calendar, if its correctness can be depended on, must unquestionably be useful to the general student of Josephus; as well as for one of the most interesting of his works, the *Belum Judaicum* *.

* It is not necessary, by way of preliminary to the calendar in question, that we should enter upon the controversy whether the Jewish year was originally lunar or solar. The proper place for such a discussion, had it been considered requisite,

was Dissertation vii. of volume i. Whatever might be the primitive constitution of the Jewish year, there can be no doubt that for the period which coincides with the duration of the gospel history, and extends to the close of the Jewish war, it was purely

The 15th of Tisri is necessarily to be deduced from

lunar. The testimony of Philo Judæus, and of Josephus, alone is sufficient to place this fact beyond dispute: and to theirs we may add that of the Book of Enoch; (cap. lxxii. lxxiii:) which will be so much the more valuable, if, according to the opinion of the learned translator, the Book of Enoch was really written sometime in the reign of Herod the Great; before the birth of Christ.

I cannot indeed subscribe to this opinion; as I believe it rather to be the production of an Hebrew Christian; though not later than the reign of Hadrian. Upon this particular question, however, its testimony is clear and positive; and it is further supported by the authority of Galen, (Operum ix. 9. A. B.) The ἀκμὴ of Galen coincided with the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius; for he tells us himself he was thirty-seven years of age about the seventh or eighth of that emperor's reign. The Jewish year, the year at least which was observed in Palestine in his time, was lunar; consisting of three hundred and fifty-four days, or twelve months, every two of which contained fifty-nine days in all.

The passages which were cited, in Dissertation vii. vol. i. p. 318, from the Agathobuli and from Aristobulus, prove that the same form of the civil year was in use among the Jews at a much earlier period. The author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, xliii. 6, 7, 8, bears similar testimony to the state of the case in his time: which was the beginning of the second century before Christ. And according to Anatolius, apud Eusebium, E. H. vii. 32. 287 A. and to Basil, Operum i. 80. C. in Hexaëmeron Homilia vi. the year of the Jews was lunar from the first.

In opposition to this weight of evidence, the authority of Syncellus, who certainly supposes the Jewish months to have been solar, consisting some of thirty, and others of thirty-one days, may justly be considered as good for nothing. I shall barely subjoin then the following statement of the names and order of the Syro-Macedonian months, which Josephus employs as appellations for the lunar ones in use among his countrymen: with references to the passages, where their Jewish names occur, but to those only.

1 Xanthicus	Nisan	Ant. Jud. i. iii. 3: ii. xiv. 6: iii. x. 5: xi. iv. 8.
2 Artemisius	Jar	viii. iii. 1.
3 Dæsius	Sivan	
4 Panemus	Thamuz	
5 Lous (Hecatombæon)	Ab	iv. iv. 7.
6 Gorpæus	Elul	
7 Hyperberetæus	Tisri	viii. iv. 1.
8 Dius	Marchesvan	i. iii. 3.
9 Apellæus	(Tebeth) Chasleu	xi. v. 4: xii. v. 4: vii. 6.
10 Audenæus	Tebeth	
11 Peritius	Sebat	
12 Dystrus	Adar	iv. viii. 49: xi. iv. 7: vi. 13: xii. x. 5.

the 15th of Nisan : since from the nature of months, which consisted alternately of twenty-nine and of thirty days each, or *vice versa*, and were six in number, the 177th day *inclusive*, from the 15th of Nisan *exclusive*, must fall on the 15th of Tisri. The 15th of Nisan, for the years in question, I obtain from eclipses calculated in the *Art de vérifier les dates* ; and eclipses in every instance so near to the paschal terms, March 18, and April 16, that the times of the mean full moons as thence deduced must represent, with very little error either of excess or of defect, the actual times of the true. I have added also the Dominical letter, and the day of the week ; observing only, that though the former is actually the letter for the corresponding year of the solar cycle ; the latter is two days in advance of the corresponding day of the week.

U. C. 819. A. D. 66. D. Let. E.	15 Nisan. March 30. Tuesday.
	15 Tisri. Sept. 23. Thursday.
U. C. 820. A. D. 67.	D. 15 Nisan. March 19. Saturday.
	15 Tisri. Sept. 12. Monday.
U. C. 821. A. D. 68.	C. B. 15 Nisan. April 6. Friday.
	15 Tisri. Sept. 30. Sunday.
U. C. 822. A. D. 69.	A. 15 Nisan. March 26. Tuesday.
	15 Tisri. Sept. 19. Thursday.
U. C. 823. A. D. 70.	G. 15 Nisan. April 14. Monday.
	15 Tisri. Oct. 8. Wednesday.
U. C. 824. A. D. 71.	F. 15 Nisan. April 3. Friday.
	15 Tisri. Sept. 27. Sunday.
U. C. 825. A. D. 72.	E. D. 15 Nisan. March 22. Tuesday.
	15 Tisri. Sept. 15. Thursday.
U. C. 826. A. D. 73.	C. 15 Nisan. April 11. Tuesday.
	15 Tisri. Oct. 5. Thursday.

This calendar expires with the recapture of Masada, the last act of the war in Judæa, U. C. 826, on the 15th of Xanthicus or Nisan ; that is, Tuesday, April 11 : as, if we compute the duration of the war from

one Jewish passover to another, it may be considered to have begun on the fifteenth of the same month, U. C. 819, Tuesday, March 30.

The correctness of the above calculations for the years U. C. 819, U. C. 820, and U. C. 823, I think was abundantly proved in the Dissertation already referred to^a. Its correctness for the year U. C. 821. may be further illustrated as follows.

If the 15th of Xanthicus or Nisan fell that year on April 6, but the year before on March 19, this is enough to prove that the year was intercalated. Hence we might naturally expect, about the period of the passover, an allusion to the fruits of the ground as ripe. Such an allusion occurs Bell. Jud. iv. vii. 2.

Again, if the 15th of Xanthicus fell on April 6, and the year was intercalated, the 4th of Dystrus would answer to the 4th of Veadar, and the 4th of Veadar to the 25th of February. About this time then the spring rains would naturally be at their height; and the Jordan might well be so much encreased by them as to be impassable. Accordingly, Bell. iv. vii. 3. 5. this appears to have been the case*.

But perhaps the clearest proof that we have rightly assigned the 15th of Nisan, in these several years, to its corresponding Julian date, is supplied by what admits of being established concerning the 15th of Nisan, U. C. 822, in particular. It will follow as a necessary consequence, that this 15th of Nisan is justly supposed to coincide with March 26, if the 15th of Tisri, corresponding to it, can be proved to have coincided with September 19. And this, I think, ad-

* Bell. iv. viii. 1. mention occurs of the second of Dæsius. Nisan 15 coinciding with April 6, Dæsius 1 coincided with May 21.

The next year, U. C. 822. (when Vespasian again took the field; (Bell. iv. ix. 9.) Dæsius 5 coincided with May 14.

^a Vide vol. i. p. 412—434.

mits of being demonstrated; by the help of the date which Josephus assigns to the death of Vitellius—a certain day in the month Apellæus^a, or rather, as we shall see by and by, Audenæus. The same proof also will make it appear that the Jewish months, beginning with Nisan, are much more probably to be reckoned in every year, (an unintercalated one, as well as an intercalated,) at twenty-nine and thirty days each alternately, than *vice versa*, at thirty days and twenty-nine.

From the great minuteness with which Josephus has specified the lengths of the several reigns between the demise of Nero and the death of Vitellius, it is clear that he intended to be very exact in each of these instances; and to express their lengths not merely by months, but also by days. The integrity of his text, however, has suffered greatly throughout from corruptions as to numbers: and no where more so than here.

The rule which he follows, in stating the lengths of the reigns in question, is to reckon by calendar *Julian* months, and by those only: as may thus be demonstrated.

I. The reign of Galba is stated at seven months and as many days^b. The last day of the reign of Galba was XVIII. kal. Feb.^c (Jan. 15.) This computation, then, supposes it to have begun on the ninth of some month. Reckon backwards *seven* Julian months, and its beginning will coincide with June 9. The correctness of this conclusion is proved by what is asserted concerning the length of the reign of Nero.

Nero is said to have reigned thirteen years and eight days^d; in which assertion, as the text now

^a Bell. iv. xi. 4.
Epitome, in eodem.

^b Bell. iv. ix. 2. Cf. Aurelius Victor, in Galba. Also the
^c Tacitus, *Historiæ*, i. 27.

^d Bell. iv. ix. 2.

stands, there is undoubtedly a great omission. The reign of Nero began October 13. U.C. 807.^e and he reigned full thirteen years, and almost eight months of a fourteenth^f. Reckoned by Julian months, the eighth month of this fourteenth year would begin May 13. U.C. 821. From that day *inclusive*, to the 9th of June *inclusive* also, are twenty-eight days exactly. I have no doubt that this is what Josephus meant; viz. that the reign of Nero expired, as the reign of Galba began, June 9, U.C. 821. His text then must have stood originally, τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη, μῆνας ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι—ἡ καὶ κ'; not simply ἡ: a mode of notation which might easily be corrupted, especially if expressed by ἡ καὶ κ', or even by κῆ'.

Again, the reign of Otho is computed at three months and two days^g. According to Dio, Otho died on April 17, eleven days^h before his birthdayⁱ, April 28. To this day *inclusive*, from January 15. preceding it, reckoned as before, there are just three months and two days. It is clear, then, that Josephus reckons the day of his death as April 17. Hence it constitutes no objection that Suetonius supposes Otho to have died xcv imperii die^k; which, dated from January 15 *inclusive*, would make his death to have happened April 19. That statement also might once have stood in Suetonius xciv imperii die; which, reckoned from January 15, as before, *inclusive*, would be only one day wide of the truth. Josephus is further confirmed by Dio, *loco citato*, who computes the reign of Otho in general terms at ninety days *.

* It is another example of of Claudius is stated at thirteen years, eight months, and Josephus' mode of reckoning by calendar or Julian months, that twenty days. This is exactly Ant. Jud. xx. viii. 1. the reign the interval of time between

^e Tacitus, Annales, xii. 69. ^f Dio, lxiii. 29. Suetonius, Nero, 40, 1. ^g Bell. iv. ix. 9. ^h Dio, lxiv. 15. ⁱ Suetonius, Otho, 2. ^k Otho, 11.

On this principle, when Vitellius is said to have reigned eight months and five days^l, we must understand his eighth month to have expired December 16, U. C. 822, and his death to have happened December 21, on the fifth day afterwards. Accordingly Dio also states him to have reigned a year, save *ten* days^m; which the necessity of the case requires should be understood to imply that he died on December 21. He asserts also that he survived his birthday eighty-nine days^m. His birthday was either September 7, or September 24ⁿ. From the former *inclusive*, the eighty-ninth day would fall on December 4—but from the latter, on December 21: and we have the further assurance of Tacitus^o, that Vitellius was alive considerably after December 4. All these circumstances must concur to fix the day of his death to December 21.*

January 24, U. C. 794, inclusive, and October 13, U. C. 807, inclusive, so computed.

* Dio, lxvi. 17, from the death of Nero, U. C. 821, to July 1, U. C. 822, the first of Vespasian, it is reckoned one year, twenty-two days: which proves that Dio considered June 9 to be the date of Nero's death.

Hippolytus, Opera, 58. Chronicon, section xix. Nero's reign is stated at 13 years, 8 months, 28 days. So also by Clemens Alex. i. 406, l. 16: Stromatum i. 21. Theophilus ad Autolyceum, iii. 27. p. 387, puts it at 13 years, 6 months, 28 days: Epiphanius, ii. 168 C: De Mensuris et Ponderibus, xii. at 13 years, 7 months, 27 days. But Cassiodorus, in Chronico, computes it at 13 years, 7

months, 28 days, exactly. The same authority reckons the reign of Galba at 7 months: that of Otho at 3 months 5 days: that of Vitellius at 8 months 1 day. The intermediate date agrees with that of Suetonius: and as reckoned from April 19 exclusive, Vitellius' reign would thus expire on December 20.

Tacitus, Historiæ, i. 18: Piso was adopted by Galba, January 10, U. C. 822. Ibid. 19. 27, he was killed *four* days after (which must be reckoned exclusively,) January 15, xviii Kal. February: for, *ibid.* 29, (cf. Plutarch, Galba, 24,) it is said, in reference to the date of the adoption itself, on the very day of the death, *Sexus dies agitur*, &c.

The arrival of Icelus, Plutarch, Galba, 7, in Spain, with the news

^l Bell. iv. xi. 4.

^m lxv. 21.

ⁿ Suetonius, Vitellius, 3.

^o Historiæ, iii. 67.

Now this day Josephus makes to coincide with the *third* of Apellæus. Apellæus or Chasleu was the ninth month in the Jewish year, reckoned from Xanthicus or Nisan: and Tisri or Hyperberetæus, was the seventh. If the 15th of Nisan coincided with March 26, or (what is the same thing) the 15th of Tisri coincided with September 19; the 24th of September coincided with the 20th of Tisri, and the 3d of Apellæus with the 5th of November. But if Apellæus be reckoned at twenty-nine days, and the 3d of Apellæus coincided with the 5th of November: then the 29th of Apellæus coincided with the 1st of December: and the 3d of Audenæus with the 4th of December: and the 20th of Audenæus with the 21st of December. Now either

of Nero's death, seven days after that event, would be June 16; what Plutarch calls *θέπος ἡδῆ*.

Plutarch, Otho, 18, also dates his reign at three months. Tacitus, *Historiæ*, ii. 55. the *Ludi Cereales* were going on at Rome when news arrived of the event of his death. The old Roman calendar dates these games April 10 or 12: and they were celebrated for six or seven days, as late as April 19. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 389, 393, 619—621, 681. Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, ii. 12.

If Otho died at Brixellum on the 17th of April, his death might easily be known at Rome on the nineteenth: and this is the most probable account of the mistake of Suetonius; that he has confounded the day on which the news of the death was received, with the day of the death itself.

Tacitus, *Historiæ*, iii. 67. begins to relate the circumstances of the death of Vitellius, from xv. Kal. Jan. Dec. 18; supplying the fol-

lowing notes of time, after (cap. 69) the *night* of that day.

Cap. 70, *Luce prima*, December 19: 78, the Saturnalia, which began December 17, and lasted to December 21 at least: 79, the night of December 19, and the morning of December 20: 82, *ad serum usque diem*; which is the end of December 20: 85, 86, *diem latebra . . . præcipiti in occasum die*: which seems to be spoken still of December 20, and certainly is to be understood either of that day or of the next. One of these two, then, according to Tacitus, December 20 or 21, was the day of Vitellius' death.

Eutropius also, lib. vii. 18, supposes Vitellius to have reigned eight months and *one* day. If he reckons these from the death of Otho, ninety-five days as he supposes after that of Galba, the first month began April 20, and the last expired December 19, and Vitellius died on the 20th.

of these dates *per se* might express the day of the death of Vitellius; but the latter only can be the true, or that which agrees both with Josephus' own statement respecting the length of his reign, and also with the testimony of Dio and Tacitus. What remains, then, except to suppose that instead of *τρίτῃ μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου*, Josephus either wrote, or intended to write, *εἰκάδι μηνὸς Αὐδηναίου*? *κ' μηνὸς Αὐδηναίου*, not *γ' μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου*? How easily *κ'* might be mistaken for *γ'* is too obvious to require proof*.

But this supposes that the month Apellæus consisted of twenty-nine days; for had it consisted of thirty, the 3d of Audenæus, the next month, must have fallen on December 5, and the 20th of Audenæus on December 22; and this would place the death of Vitellius one day too late. If then we would avoid such an error at last, or in the final result of a computation, which Josephus, as it is clear, intended should be precise and exact; we have no alternative except to suppose that Apellæus consisted of twenty-nine days, not of thirty; and on the same principle Tisri also.

I am aware that the contrary is the commonly received opinion; and therefore that it may appear presumptuous in me to venture to dissent from it. Nor should I have thought of dissenting from the

* Such a mistake as the above, with reference to the name of a month, would not be unexampled in Josephus; for, Ant. Jud. xi. v. 4: Apellæus is confounded with Tebeth, though both the Latin version *in loco*, and Ant. Jud. xii. v. 4, prove it to have been in reality the same with Chasleu. Josephus might confound Apellæus with Aude-

næus, in this instance, intending to express by either a certain date in the Jewish month Chasleu, because *παρὰ Μακεδόσιν*, according to Suidas, *in voce*, Apellæus was reckoned the same with December, and so was Chasleu among the Jews. Audenæus, on the other hand, according to Suidas, *in voce*, was the Macedonian January.

common opinion, in this respect, unless there had seemed to be good grounds for a different conclusion. The contrary belief, if I mistake not, is founded implicitly on the authority of the modern Jewish calendar, the supposed composition of Rabbi Samuel, about the beginning of the third century after Christ^p; which calendar, as I think, is no *necessary* criterion of the mode of reckoning among the Jews, or of the constitution of their calendar, in the time of Josephus; contemporary with the Gospel era.

It is indifferent to the number of days between the 15th of Nisan *exclusive*, and the 15th of Tisri *inclusive*, or *vice versa*, whether all the odd months in the Jewish year consisted of twenty-nine days, and all the even months of thirty; or the reverse. It is indifferent also to the question of the day of the week, or of the Julian day of the month, upon which a particular Jewish day would fall; except when that day belongs to one of the even months. And with respect even to these, the two modes of reckoning can never differ from each other by more than a single day in excess, or a single day in defect, respectively. For my own part, I have invariably gone upon the principle that the Jews observed such a rule in the division of their months into days, as was liable to the least fluctuation; or would suit best to all possible contingencies. Now the month Nisan, under all circumstances, might consist of twenty-nine days only; but it could not, under all circumstances, consist of thirty. It might consist of twenty-nine in any year, whether an intercalated or an unintercalated one, indifferently; but it could not always consist of thirty. Though in a common year it consisted of thirty, yet in an intercalated year it

^p Scaliger, *Canonum Isagogicorum* lib. i. cap. vi.

would consist of twenty-nine. Julius Africanus^q informs us that, even in his time, the Jews intercalated *thrice* in every eight years, and on each occasion not less than thirty days; that is, eight times eleven days and six hours, or ninety full days, in eight years*. Moreover, it was not usual to intercalate, except between Adar and Nisan, the last month and the first in the year. In such cases, the intercalated month, called Veadar, or second Adar, (like the Latin Bissextile, in Leap-year,) always consisting of thirty days, and always coming after twelve complete lunations; Nisan, the next month to it, necessarily consisted of twenty-nine.

The testimony of Galen, before referred to, is decisive as to the fact that in two successive Jewish months, there were comprised fifty-nine days in all, or two mean lunations; but it leaves it doubtful in what order, whether of thirty and twenty-nine, or of twenty-nine and thirty†. I have carefully examined Josephus's History of the War, with a view to information on the point in question; and though there is nothing express, or which is not left solely to implication, yet what I can discover makes in favour of the principle, upon which I have hitherto reckoned, rather than against it.

For example, Bell. v. xi. 4, a computation occurs,

* There is a plain reference to the use of the same octaëteric cycle (as we may presume among the Jews, the contemporaries of the author) in the Liber Enoch, chap. lxxiii. 13—16. Cf. Suidas, *Ἐνιαυτός*.

† The same uncertainty applies to the testimony of the

Liber Enoch, chap. lxxvii. 10: where it is said, that on stated months the moon has 29 days. Ibid. 19, 20, it is said it has three months of 30, and three of 29 days, or 177 days, in 6 months. Compare chap. lxxviii. 3. The order of these months, however, is not specified.

extending to seventeen days; from the twelfth to the twenty-ninth of Artemisius, which was the month next after Nisan. Had Artemisius consisted of twenty-nine days only, I think Josephus would not have specified the twenty-ninth *as such*; he would have called it the last day of the month.

Again, vi. viii. 1. 4, he reckons it an eighteen days' interval from the 20th of Lous the fifth month, to the 7th of Gorpiaëus the sixth month; a reckoning which, at first sight, appears to make against us. For if Lous contained thirty days, then from Lous 20 *inclusive*, to Gorpiaëus 7 also *inclusive*, there would be just *eighteen* days. But in this year, which was U.C. 823, when the passover was celebrated April 13, it is manifest that there had been an intercalation; and Nisan consequently must have contained only twenty-nine days: in which case Ab or Lous which contained the same number with Nisan, could not have contained thirty. Besides which, the text of Josephus, in this instance, is corrupt; or he himself has fallen into an inaccuracy: for it is clear from the context, that the works which were begun on the 20th of Lous were completed on the 6th, and not on the 7th of Gorpiaëus. The attack was made on the 7th, as soon as the works were complete; and the contest (which most probably began in the morning) did not cease until the night; and on the next day the capture of the city was completed. It is probable, then, that instead of ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἡμέραις, that is, *ὡς* ἡμέραις, Josephus actually wrote, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέραις—*ι*ε' ἡμέραις: for nothing is more common in ancient manuscripts than the corruption of ε into η, or *vice versa*. In this case, if the works were actually begun on the 20th of Lous, and Lous contained only twenty-nine days; their completion might actually fall on the fifteenth day after, which would thus be

the 6th of Gorpiaeus: just as a similar undertaking, begun on the 12th of Artemisius, was said to be finished in seventeen days' time; viz. on the 29th.

Again, vi. iv. 8, the duration of the second temple, from the time of its being built to the time of its destruction, is reckoned at six hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days. With the number of years we have no concern at present; but the number of days is manifestly and grossly corrupted. Josephus could estimate the number of days from no *canonical* date but that of Ezra vi. 15, which asserts that the second temple was finished on the *third* of Adar, in the sixth year of Darius the king; and he could conduct it downwards to no date but the 10th of Lous; on which day he himself places its destruction. Now if we reckon Adar at thirty days, from the 3rd of Adar *exclusive*, to the 10th of Lous or Ab *inclusive*, there are exactly one hundred and fifty-five days: a number which would be expressed by ρνέ', or PNE; and as so expressed, and preceded by ἡμέραι, might be corrupted into μέ', or ME, merely. But we cannot reckon Adar at thirty days, without reckoning Nisan or Xanthicus at twenty-nine*. Hence, if Josephus in this calculation implies the former, he necessarily implies the latter.

* Omissions of one number among others, and that generally the principal or leading number, are not uncommon in Josephus. Thus the millenary number is wanting, Contra Apionem i. 31; where the age of Moses is specified as 518 years before some date or other; which being in all probability the date of the work itself must imply an antiquity of 1518 years at least. Again, there is a like omission, Ant. vi. xiii. 10, where David is made to have

stayed with Achish at Gath or in Ziklag *four months, twenty days only*; instead of *one year, four months at least*; which 1 Sam. xxvii. 7. proves to have been actually the case, though it must be admitted that the *ο'* have only *four months* also. But the most indisputable omission is at Ant. xii. v. 5: the 46th year Ær. Sel. there mentioned should undoubtedly be the 146th: which shews the centenary number to be wanting.

In the printed text of the Antiquities, xi. iv. 7, the same date which Ezra expressed by the third of Adar is called the 23rd. From this date *exclusive* to the 10th of Lous *inclusive*, or *vice versa*, the interval is one hundred and thirty-five days; Adar or Dystrus, which Josephus makes synonymous, and both to be the twelfth month in the Jewish year, being reckoned at thirty days as before. In these different statements there is great apparent confusion; but it must be clear from any of them, that the centenary number is wanting in the passage cited from the War; and that Adar was a month of thirty days. And perhaps every thing may be cleared up at once, if we suppose merely that, in his copy of Ezra, Josephus read the 13th of Adar; and not the 3rd, and wrote $\epsilon\gamma'$, not γ' , accordingly: (for in that case the number of days from Adar 13 to Lous 10 would be strictly 145 :) or that he confounded in his memory at the time the 3rd of Adar with another memorable date in the same month, the 13th of Adar, (1 Macc. vii. 43. 49. 2 Macc. xv. 36,) which would lead to the same conclusion *.

With regard, however, to the general question which relates to the number of days in the Jewish Nisan; perhaps the following passage from Josephus supplies a decisive argument. According to the sacred narrative, the day when the Israelites were provided with quails was the *fifteenth* of Jar; (see vol. iv. 466.) according

* The same date indeed which is assigned to the completion of the temple in Josephus, appears also in the first book of the Pseudo-Esdras, vii. 5: from which the Antiquities, at this period of the history, may be seen upon comparison to have borrowed the greater part of their accounts, in preference

even to the canonical book of Ezra. Whether *this* date in particular was borrowed from that book may be doubted; for whereas 1 Esdras vii. 5. places the completion on the 23d of Adar in the *sixth* of Darius, Ant. xi. iv. 7, places it on the same day in the *ninth*.

to Josephus it was the τριακοστὴ ἡμέρα, dated from the Exodus. Now he places the Exodus distinctly on the *fifteenth* of Nisan. Hence, he must have supposed Nisan to contain *twenty-nine* days only: for had he reckoned it to contain *thirty*, the *fifteenth* of Jar *inclusive* would have been the *thirty-first* from the *fifteenth* of Nisan *inclusive*. Nor can it be said that he reckons the day of the Exodus exclusively, and the day of the supply of quails inclusively; or *vice versa*: for in another passage immediately preceding, he tells us that the length of time, during which the people subsisted on the supply of food originally brought out of Egypt, was just thirty days, and no more. The day of the Exodus was the first of this number, and the fifteenth of Jar was the last. Vide Ant. Jud. ii. xv. 1, 2. and iii. i. 3.

The objection, which might be taken from the use of the term τριακὰς, in reference to the last day of Tisri or Hyperberetæus, U. C. 819, has been obviated elsewhere^d. That term might be used ἀπλῶς in its secondary sense, for the last day of any month *as such*, whether properly the 30th, or only the 29th. Besides which, it is a well established fact that the Syro-Macedonian months actually consisted of not less than thirty days each; and as Josephus applies the names in vogue for them, to describe and distinguish the lunar months in use among his countrymen, nothing was more natural than that he should (whether deliberately or inadvertently would make no difference) give to the last day of Tisri *as such*, (though that might be merely the 29th of the month,) the proper denomination for the last day of Hyperberetæus *as such*; which could be only the 30th. In the mean time, the argument from the date which he ascribes to

^d Dissertation xii. vol. i. 430.

the death of Vitellius, Audenæus 3, if that death happened on December 4, and Audenæus 20, if it happened on December 21; remains the same, and leads to the same inference as before, that Apellæus or Chas-leu, and consequently Hyperberetæus or Tisri, in the year of the death of Galba, U.C. 822, must have consisted of twenty-nine days each. Now this year was *cavus*; that is, not intercalated. But if Tisri in an unintercalated year consisted of only twenty-nine days, *a fortiori*, in an intercalated year it would consist of the same number: and if Tisri, then Nisan; and all the odd months in the Jewish year besides.

Nor do I consider it any difficulty that 2 Macc. xi. 30. makes mention of the 30th of Xanthicus. For that is in the course of a letter from king Antiochus to the Jews, and as part of the terms of that document itself. The computation of months and days, which such a document would follow, would necessarily be the Syro-Macedonian; and according to that computation Xanthicus, which ranked as the sixth month in their year, was a month of thirty or thirty-one days*. Vide *De Anno et Epochis*, Dissertatio i. p. 22.

* The *τριακὰς* of the month Xanthicus is similarly alluded to in the letter of Polysperchon to the Grecian states, B.C. 319,

Diodorus Sic. xviii. 56: τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταδέχεσθωσαν πρὸ τῆς τριακάδος τοῦ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XVII.

Chronology of the Historia Naturalis of Pliny.

Vide Dissertation xv. vol. ii. page 77. line 20.

SOME of the passages in the *Historia Naturalis*, by which its chronology admits of being determined, were produced in the fifteenth Dissertation of the present work. The additional notices dispersed throughout it, upon which a similar argument might be built to ascertain the precise year of its composition, may be collected and arranged as follows. Many of them are and must be absolutely indefinite; and others in their present state are very probably corrupt: yet a considerable part of them will be found to confirm the conclusion before established, that the true date of the work is U. C. 829, or U. C. 830.

Ita enim verius dixerim: quoniam audio et Stoicos, et Dialecticos, Epicureos quoque, (nam de Grammaticis semper expectavi,) parturire adversus libellos, quos de Grammatica edidi, et subinde abortus facere *jam decem annis*, cum celerius etiam elephantī pariant ^a.

The work de Grammatica, alluded to here, seems to be the same which Pliny the younger describes under the title of *Dubii Sermonis*, consisting of eight books; and which he tells us was written sub Nerone, *novissimis annis*^b. If it was written only ten years before U. C. 830, it would still be written U. C. 820, in the *thirteenth* of Nero.

Hac nunc cælesti passu cum liberis suis vadit maxi-

^a Ad Divum Vespasianum Præfatio, p. 25.

^b Epistolæ, iii. v. §. 5.

mus omnis ævi rector, Vespasianus Augustus^c—Intra ducentos annos Hipparchi sagacitate compertum est^d.

Nam ut quindecim diebus utrumque sidus quæretur, et nostro ævo accidit, Imperatoribus Vespasianis patre iv. filio iterum Consulibus^e. This fact, then, happened U. C. 825.

Nec minus mirum ostentum et nostra cognovit ætas, anno Neronis principis supremo^f.

Mutianus ter Consul^g. This description of Mucian as *ter consul* is of standing occurrence throughout the work. Vide iii. 9: viii. 3: xii. 5: xiii. 27: xiv. 6: xvi. 79: xix. 2. sect. 2: xxviii. 5: xxxiv. 17. His second consulship is alluded to, xxxv. 46, whence it appears to have been not long after U. C. 822. The Fasti shew it U. C. 823. It might be inferred too, from xvi. 79, Mucianus, ter consul, ex his qui proxime viso eo scripsere, that his third consulate was still a recent event. The Fasti, accordingly, shew him Consul iii. U. C. 828. Dio, lxvi. 13–15, proves that he was at Rome about U. C. 827: and Tacitus, De causis corruptæ eloquentiæ, 37, observes: Nescio, an venerint in manus vestras hæc vetera quæ... *cum maxime* a Muciano contrahuntur: ac jam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistolarum composita et edita sunt. This *cum maxime* refers (cap. 17.) to the sixth of Vespasian; U. C. 827–828.

Universæ Hispaniæ Vespasianus Imperator Augustus jactatus procellis reipublicæ Latii jus tribuit^h—Itemque a Vespasiano Imperatore eodem munere donatum Icosionⁱ—Cæsarea... nunc colonia prima Flavia, a Vespasiano Imperatore deducta... Neapolis quod antea Mamortha^j.

The epoch of the foundation of Neapolis is placed

^c H. N. ii. 5. ^d ii. 10. ^e ii. 10. ^f ii. 85. Vide also ii. 106. and xvii. 38. ^g ii. 106. ^h iii. 4. ⁱ v. 1. ^j v. 14.

by Eckhel^k U. C. 825, or U. C. 826. At the same time a colony might be planted in Cæsarea. The period of these events in general seems to have been the duration of Vespasian's censorship^l, from U. C. 825—827.

Triginta prope jam annis notitiam ejus (sc. of Britain) Romanis armis non ultra vicinitatem silvæ Caledoniæ propagantibus^m.

It does not appear to what ἀρχὴ this date is referred. But, if we reckon back from U. C. 828 or 829, it may be the time of the invasion of Britain by Claudius, U. C. 796, or it may refer to the close of that war, U. C. 803, the ninth year according to Tacitus, after its commencement: Tacitus, *Annales*, xii. 36. One thing is certain; the successes of Agricola in Britain had not been gained in Pliny's time.

Proximo bello, quod cum Œensibus Romani gessere, auspiciis (al. initiis) Vespasiani Imperatorisⁿ.

Et libera Mitylene annis M. D. potens^o—Nuper Vologesus rex aliud oppidum Vologesocertam in vicino condidit^p.

Ante annos prope mille—Ante millia annorum^q: the first of which relates to the age of Homer, the latter to that of Hesiod. But what date of these ages respectively Pliny followed is left uncertain, except that he must have considered them nearly contemporary.

Agrippina Claudii Cæsaris turdum habuit...imitantem sermones hominum cum hæc proderem^r. With this however we must compare another passage; Scio sestertiis sex candidam...vænisse, quæ Agrippinæ Claudii Principis conjugii dono daretur^s.

^k *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, iii. 436. ^l Vide Eckhel, vi. 330—333.
^m iv. 30. ⁿ v. 5. Cf. Solinus, *Polyhistor*, xxix. §. 6. ^o v. 39. ^p vi. 30.
^q vii. 16. xiv. 1. ^r x. 59. ^s x. 43.

Nunc quoque erat in urbe Roma, hæc prodente me, equitis Romani cornix e Bœtica^t.

Cn. Matius . . Divi Augusti amicus, invenit nemora tonsilia intra hos LXXX annos^v. Eighty years before U. C. 830, or U. C. 829, would be U. C. 749, or U. C. 750, when Augustus was still alive.

Qui mea ætate legati ex Arabia venerunt^u.

Ita sunt longinqua monumenta Tiberii Caiique Gracchorum manus, quæ apud Pomponium Secundum vatem civemque clarissimum vidi annos fere post CC.^x Compare with this passage xiv. 6.

Interiit nuper incendio^y—Septimo hinc anno^z.

Hisce xx annis mercato rus. . . intra octavum annum . . . intra decimum fere curæ annum^{a*}—Intra xxx annos reperta^b—Intra centum annos inventa Græcæ^c—Hæc observatio triginta jam fere annis non congruit^d.

Separatim toto tractatu sententia ejus (*Catonis* sc.) indicanda est, ut in omni genere noscamus quæ fuerint celeberrima anno sexcentesimo urbis, circa captas Carthaginem ac Corinthum, quum supremum is diem obiit, et quantum postea CCXXX annis vita profecerit^e.

This is a very plain indication of the age of the work; for it makes 230 years' interval between U. C. 600 and the time of the writer: and it is confirmed by another equally plain; Ea omnia approbantibus octingentorum triginta annorum eventibus: with which we may compare also, L. Opimio consule . . . natali urbis DCXXXIII (vide xiv. 16.) durantque adhuc vina ducentis fere annis^f—Hæc nunc circiter

* If Seneca bought this vineyard about ten years before Pliny was writing, he must have bought it U. C. 818.

t x. 60. v xii. 6. u xii. 31. x xiii. 26. y xiii. 29. z xiv. 4.
a xiv. 5. b xv. 11. c xviii. 74. d xxxvi. 15. sect. 6. e xiv. 5. Vide
also xxix. 8. f xxviii. 3; xiv. 6.

annum CCCCL (referred to U. C. CCCLXIX) habet^g. If the reading here is not corrupt, the time of the allusion becomes U. C. 819. But Harduin reads in the one case U. C. 379, as well as in the other 450 : which makes the time of the allusion U. C. 829.

Utpote quum tota Asia exstruente quadringentis annis peractum sit (aliter 220. compare xxxvi. 21)— Et jam quadringentis prope annis durare^h.

Uticae . . . ita ut positae fuere, prima urbis ejus origine, annis mille centum octoginta octoⁱ (ad marginem LXXVIII. *) If the date of the work was U. C. 829, A. D. 76, the foundation of Utica would thus be placed B. C. 1113, only seventy years later than the commonly received date of the capture of Troy. Utica was a Phœnician colony, as well as Carthage; and it is not an improbable conjecture that many of the dates assigned to the foundation of the latter, especially those which place it within the first century after the capture of Troy, are really dates of the foundation of Utica.

Theophrastus . . cuncta cura magna persequutus CCCXC. (aliter CCCXC.) annis ante nos^k. Now, xiii. 30, and xv. 1, 'Theophrastus' age is placed U. C. 440 : so that the time of this allusion is U. C. 440 + 390 or 830.

Quo duo consulares obiere, condentibus hæc nobis, eodem anno, Julius Rufus, et Quintus Lecanius Bassus^l. Bassus was consul U. C. 817, and Rufus U. C. 820.

In hisce xx annis^m—Miliū intra hos decem annos ex India in Italiam invectum estⁿ— Id eo ipso anno quum commentaremur hæc^o etc.—Æstate . . proxima Valerius Marianus^p— Et paulo ante Julium Vin-

* This reading is adopted by Harduin.

^g xvi. 85. ^h xvi. 79. ⁱ xvi. 79. ^k xix. 10. ^l xxvi. 4. Vide also
xxxvi. 69. ^m xiv. 4. ⁿ xviii. 10. §. 3. ^o xviii. 57. ^p xix. 1.

dicem adsertorem illum a Nerone libertatis^q— Annæum Serenum præfectum Neronis vigilum^r— Sicut proxime Annæum Gallionem fecisse post consulatum meminimus^s— Ætas nostra vidit in Capitolio, priusquam id novissime conflagravît, a Vitellianis incensum^t.

Again, the dedication of the Capitol, or of the Temple of Peace, is alluded to in all the following places : xii. 42. xxxiv. 19. §. 24. xxxv. 36. §. 6. 20. xxxvi. 5. §. 8. 11. 24. §. 1 ; allusions so much the more valuable, because they prove that no part of the work between lib. xii. 42. and lib. xxxvi. 24. could have been composed earlier than U. C. 828, at which time, but not before, Dio^u shews that the dedication in question took place. The nineteenth book, which contains the mention of the death of Lupus, comes between these extremes; and therefore must have been written between U. C. 828 and U. C. 830.

It is some argument also of the date of the Natural History, that we find in it no mention of the story of Sabinus, and his concealment in a cave for nine years; a story otherwise so remarkable, that had Pliny known of it, he would not have failed to notice it. Tacitus, *Historiæ*, iv. 55, Sabinus was at large, and implicated in the rebellion of Civilis in Gaul, U. C. 823. *ineunte* ; and this being the first of the nine years in question, U. C. 831, or U. C. 832, was the last. Confer Dio, lxvi. 3. ad U. C. 823, and *Ibid.* 16. ad U. C. 831 : also the *Amatorius* of Plutarch, *Operum* ix. 86—89. The story therefore did not come to light, (though it did in the reign of Vespasian,) before the Natural History had been written and published*.

* It is also to be observed iii. v. in his list of the works of that Pliny the younger, *Epistolæ*, his uncle, enumerates his Natu-

^q xx. 57. ^r xxii. 47. ^s xxxi. 33. ^t xxxiv. 17. ^u lxvi. 15.

Lastly, there is an allusion in the Natural History to the death of Virgil, which I have purposely reserved for this place: *Atque hæc Virgilii vatis ætate incognita, a cujus obitu xc. aguntur anni*^x. The MSS. exhibit no variation in the reading here: so that it is a gratuitous supposition to assume the incorrectness of the number in the text; or to propose to alter it for xciv. or xcv. It is the opinion, therefore, of Harduin, *in loc.* that the common date for the death of Virgil, U. C. 735, is wrong; and should be superseded, on the authority of this passage, by that of U. C. 739, or U. C. 740. The time when Pliny was writing, especially in this part of the Natural History, being U. C. 830, ninety years before that time cannot be earlier than U. C. 739, or U. C. 740.

The received date of the death of Virgil rests on the credit of his biographer, the Pseudo-Donatus, four hundred years posterior to the beginning of the Christian era; whereas Pliny was writing only seventy-six or seventy-seven years after it. So long as the soundness of the present reading, xc, remains unquestioned, I do not see how we can avoid the conclusion that Virgil was alive five years later than the supposed year of his death. The consideration of this point at full length would require more time and space than I should be justified in bestowing upon it. I will mention, however, one or two arguments, which induce me to concur in Father Harduin's opinion, as above stated.

First, and chief, the twelfth ode of the fourth book of Horace, beginning,

ral History last of all. This is an argument that he had not finished it before U. C. 830. So laborious and productive a writer, it might be supposed, would

have written something else—had he finished this work earlier—before his death, in September U. C. 833.

^x xiv. 3.

Jam veris comites, quæ mare temperant,
is addressed to Virgil. This book, as we are told by Suetonius, in his short memoir of the Life of Horace, was not published until a long time after the three preceding ones; and it contains internal evidences that it was published, U. C. 738, or U. C. 739. The first ode itself proves that Horace was fifty when he published it, or nearly so: (i. 4, 5, 6:) and he was fifty complete, Dec. 8, U. C. 739. I have had occasion to refer to several of the odes collected in this book; and to shew, from contemporary history, that they could not have been written before this year, or the preceding. Thus ode ii. 33—36: iv. xiv. the reduction or expected reduction of the Sicambri, the actual reduction of the Rhæti and Vindelici by Tiberius and Drusus, are distinctly referred to, and placed fourteen or fifteen years after the capture of Alexandria, U. C. 724: that is, U. C. 738, or U. C. 739. The latter of these statements Strabo and Dio prove to be historically true*.

Compare the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, a piece written U. C. 745, in the year of Drusus' death.

15. Ille modo eripuit latebrosas hostibus Alpes,
Et titulum belli dux duce fratre tulit.
Ille genus Suevos acre, indomitosque Sycambros,
Contudit, inque fugam barbara terga dedit.

And also,

311. Nec tibi deletos poterit narrare Sycambros,
Ensibus et Suevos terga dedisse suis.
Fluminaque et montes, et nomina magna locorum:
Et si quid miri vidit in orbe novo.

In like manner, Horace, *Carminum Lib. iv. ode v.* beginning,

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ

* The reduction of the Sycambri was not fully completed before U. C. 743. See Dissertation xiv. vol. ii. 481. Nor does

Horace allude to it here as a past event, but only as an expected one.

has been shewn to be later than Augustus' departure into Gaul, U. C. 738. (vol. i. 501.) In short there is no ode in this fourth book, which supplies any historical data for determining the time when it was written, but what must be referred to this period.

What shall we say, then, to the twelfth ode, addressed to Virgil? It is not the practice of Horace to address odes to persons, who were dead, as if they were alive; nor to publish odes, as so addressed, after the lifetime of the parties addressed in them. Unless, then, it can be shewn that this fourth book of Odes was not published U. C. 738, or U. C. 739; or, though it was then published, that the twelfth ode, addressed to Virgil, was published after his death; Virgil was alive U. C. 738, or U. C. 739, three or four years later than the supposed year of his death, U. C. 735.

Again, both Donatus and Servius (*Præfatio ad Æneidem*) tell us that Virgil was three years employed on his *Bucolica*, seven years on his *Georgica*, and eleven or twelve on his *Æneid*. Now both these writers also tell us, (Servius, *ad Eclog. x.* and *ad Georgic. iv.*) that the conclusion of the last *Georgic*, which at present is taken up by the episode of *Aristæus*, was originally devoted to the praises of *Cornelius Gallus*; but that when he fell under the displeasure of Augustus, either at the command of Augustus, or from a sense of delicacy on the part of Virgil, it was superseded by the episode in question. It is implied in this tradition, that the *Georgica* were not finished before Gallus fell under the displeasure of Augustus; and that was not until U. C. 728:

Tu quoque, si falsum temerati crimen amici,
Sanguinis atque animæ prodige Galle tuæ;
Ovid, *Amorum* iii. ix. 63. Cf. *Propertius*, ii. xxxiv. 91.

for, being disgraced and banished in that year, he committed suicide.

If Virgil, then, had not completed his *Georgica* before U. C. 728, the eleven or twelve years' composition of his *Æneid* will bear date from no earlier time than U. C. 729, which agrees exactly with Pliny's date for his death, U. C. 739, or U. C. 740. There is internal evidence in the *Georgica* themselves, that the final hand was not put to them before this time*. In particular, the exordium of the third *Georgic*, from line 10 downwards, contains clear allusions to the institution of the *Ludi Actiaci*, U. C. 726; to Augustus' triumph, U. C. 725; to conquests, or projected conquests, in Britain, U. C. 727; to the reduction of the Cantabri, and we may almost say, the closing of the Temple of Janus, U. C. 729: which even Servius and Philargyrius understand accordingly. True it is, this exordium might have been written when the whole work was completed; and so, perhaps, it was: but even this will prove that the whole was not completed before U. C. 728, or U. C. 729.

Again, the epigram of a contemporary poet, Domitius Marsus, on the death of Tibullus,

Te quoque Virgilio comitem non æqua, Tibulle,

Mors juvenem campos misit ad Elysios:

Ne foret, aut elegis molles qui fleret amores,

Aut caneret forti regia bella pede,

shews the death of Virgil and Tibullus to have been nearly coincident in point of time. What I would observe upon, in reference to that of the latter, is, that Tibullus is called *juvenis*, when it happened. Those who are acquainted with the classical sense of *juvenis*, know that it expresses the age next after *adolescens*, and could not with propriety be bestowed until a person was *thirty* at least; though it might continue to

* The *Æneid* too in like manner supplies internal evidence that it was not begun before U. C. 729, especially *Æneid* i. 291—296, compared with viii. 714—728, and vi. 861—887. Cf. Servius, *in loc.*

be given him until he was forty or more. Virgil himself supplies an instance of this at the close of the fourth Georgic.

Carmina qui lusi pastorum, audaxque juvena,
Tityre, te patulæ cecini sub tegmine fagi.

That is, he was *juvenis*^y, as such, when he began and concluded his Bucolica. Servius tells us accordingly (Præfatio ad Bucolica : ad Eclog. i. 29 : ad Georgic. iv. 565.) that he was twenty-eight when he set about them. There is no reason to call in question the received date of the birth of Virgil, Oct. 15, U. C. 684. Coss. Pompeio et Crasso, which is confirmed by the testimony of Phlegon, (Photius, Bibl. codex 97. p. 84. l. 18.) who places it, Ol. 177. 3. B. C. 70. U. C. 684, on the ides of October. On this principle he was twenty-eight years complete, Oct. 15, U. C. 712, and was in his twenty-seventh year, Oct. 15, U. C. 711; which renders it just possible that Cicero, according to the tradition mentioned by the author of the Life of Virgil, might have heard one of his Bucolics; for Cicero was alive until December 7, at the end of that year. But that Virgil had not *finished* his Bucolics by the time he was twenty-eight appears from iv. 11: which was written when Pollio was consul, or consul elect, U. C. 713, or U. C. 714, at which time Virgil was twenty-nine or thirty.

Now Tibullus was born, as he tells us himself, iii. v. 17. U. C. 711.

Natalem nostri primum videre parentes,
Cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.

Is it likely, then, that he would be called *juvenis*, U. C. 735, when he would be only twenty-five years old? But he might be so called, U. C. 740, when he would be thirty*.

* Some learned men, indeed, of the above distich, because of have suspected the genuineness its repugnancy to the precon-

y Cf. Ovid, Tristia; ii. i. 537, 538.

The coincidence of the death of Virgil and Tibullus is further implied by Ovid, *Tristium* iv. x. 51.

Virgilium vidi tantum : nec avara Tibullo

Tempus amicitiae fata dedere meæ.

Lib. iii. ix. of his *Amores* is devoted exclusively to the subject of the death of the latter; and if we knew the time when this was written, we should know the time of the event which it commemorates.

From *Tristium* i. i. 67. 105—122: vi. 11—40: *Tristium* ii. i. 5—8. 61—66. 245—252. 549—562: iii. i. 65—76: xiv: *Fasti*, iv. 81—84: we may collect that the extant works of Ovid, distinct from the *Tristia* and *Epistolæ de Ponto*, were composed in the following order: *Heroidum Epistolæ*—*Amores*—*Medicamina Faciei*—*Ars Amandi* and *Remedium Amoris*—*Metamorphoseων*—and *Fasti*; the two last of which were neither of them complete, at the time of his banishment, U. C. 761, *exeunte*. The *Ars Amandi* and *Remedium Amoris*, I have shewn elsewhere to have been written at the precise period when Caius Cæsar was setting out on his expedition into the East, U. C. 752.*. Is it pro-

ceived opinion of an earlier date of the birth of Tibullus; as U. C. 690, or U. C. 705. Whether it is genuine or not, depends on critical considerations which I am not under the necessity of entering upon here. Suffice it to say, no editor has ventured to remove it from the text, or been able to shew, except on grounds of pure conjecture, that it ought not to remain there. In other respects, the chronological difficulties, connected with its reception, in my opinion, are not insuperable.

* The date of the *Ars Amandi* is thus determined to U. C.

752, or U. C. 753: which alone we may observe by the way, would be a sufficient refutation of one among the other reasons, conjecturally assigned for the banishment of Ovid, viz. that he had been witness to Augustus' incest with his daughter Julia. For Julia was banished this very year, U. C. 752: see Tacitus, *Annales*, i. 53. Dio, lv. 10, 11. and cf. Dissertation xv. supra, p. 9, 10. whereas Ovid's disgrace cannot be dated earlier than U. C. 761, *exeunte*, nine or ten years later. Whatever was the true cause of Ovid's banishment, it was

bable, then, that the Amores were written earlier than U.C. 740 or 741*? or that an author of so fertile a vein as Ovid, if he had begun to write before U.C. 735, should have written nothing again before U.C. 752?

Nos facimus placitæ late præconia formæ:

Nomen habet Nemesis: Cynthia nomen habet:

Vesper et Eoæ novere Lycorida terræ:

Et multi quæ sit nostra Corinna rogant.

De Arte Amandi, iii. 535.

This passage implies that the Amores were written, and had got into circulation, some time before the *Ars Amandi*: for Corinna is the heroine of those pieces, as Nemesis, Cynthia, and Lycoris, were of the elegies of Tibullus, Propertius, and Gallus, respectively,

Elsewhere Ovid says of himself, Tibullus, and Propertius,

certainly due to something which he had *seen*; but that is all that we can know about it. See the various allusions to it: Tristium i. i. 67: 111—116: ii. 95—100: iii. 37, 38: ii. i. 103—210: iii. i. 51—56: v. 45—52: vi. 25—37: iv. i. 23: iv. 39—46: viii. 33—40: x. 99: De Ponto, i. ii. 97: vi. 19—26: ii. ii. 61: iii. 65: x. 15: iii. iii. 71—76.

* Ovid's first work appears to have been his *Medea*, and the next, his *Heroidum Epistolæ*. See *Amorum* ii. xviii. 13. 21—34. Cf. *Ars Amandi*, iii. 343—346.

The argument from the proper sense of *juvenis* is not less applicable to the age of Ovid, when he began to write, than it was to that of Virgil or of Tibullus. He declares repeatedly that he was *juvenis* as such, when he published his Amores, *Ars Amandi*, &c. See *Amorum*, iii. i. 27, 28: Tristium i. viii. 59—62: ii. i. 339, 340, 543, 544:

iii. i. 7, 8: iv. x. 57—60, &c.

This last passage states—*Carmina cum primum populo juvenilia legi*; | *Barba resecta mihi bisve semelve fuit*. Yet that this was not before he was 20 years of age, that is, before U. C. 731 at least, is proved by verse 31, just before. *Jamque decem vitæ frater geminaverat annos*, | *Cum perit*; et *cœpi parte carere mei*. In short, the first book of the Amores was not written before the reduction or expected reduction of the Sycambri, which we have seen was not completed before U. C. 743: as appears from i. xiv. 45—50. I should date the composition of this work, U. C. 740. If so, Elegy ix. of the third book, which commemorates the death of Tibullus cannot bear date before U. C. 740. Cf. *Amorum* i. xv. 25—28, which very probably implies that both Virgil and Tibullus were then alive.

Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi.

Quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui. *Tristium* iv. x. 53*.

which must be understood to mean that, as distinguished writers of elegy, they flourished in that order: and though it does not imply that Tibullus wrote nothing before the death of Gallus, or Propertius nothing before that of Tibullus—which would be false—yet it must imply that there was some interval between the death of Gallus and that of Tibullus, during which the latter was the most distinguished elegiac poet; as well as some interval between the death of Tibullus, and Ovid's becoming known in this department of poetry, during which Propertius stood alone.

In no part of the extant works of Horace is there any allusion to such a fact as the death of Virgil—whom yet he must have survived ten or eleven years, if Virgil died U.C. 735: and he must have published, as we have seen, a certain portion of his works even subsequently to that event. Nor is there any allusion to his *Æneid*, or even to his *Georgica*. When Horace published his *Sermones*, which, however, were the earliest of his productions, Virgil was known only as the author of some elegant *Bucolics*—for so I should understand his

Molle atque facetum

Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.

Sermonum i. x. 44, 45. Cf. *Epistolæ*, ii. i. 245—247.

The first clear allusion to the *Æneid* in any contemporary writer occurs in Propertius, ii. xxxiv. 65:

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii.

Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade. Cf. *Ibid.* 61—64.

And there are parts of the poems of Propertius which I have shewn elsewhere to have been written as late

* Cf. *Tristium* i. ii. 445—468.

as U.C. 738 or U.C. 739. This is especially true of the last elegy of all. See vol. i. p. 500. and Cf. *ibid.* p. 533. As to the above allusion, lines 91, 92 of the same elegy prove that it could not have been written before the death of Gallus; after which it was that Virgil undertook the composition of his *Æneid*.

It will be allowed that there is some weight in these considerations; sufficient perhaps to shew that the truth of the received date for the death of Virgil may reasonably be called into question. Not to dwell, then, any longer upon this subject, though more might still be said to the same effect, I shall conclude with pointing out a striking inconsistency between the account of his death, as given in his *Life*, and by Servius, *Præfatio ad Æneid. i.* The former tells us that he went to Athens, U.C. 735, with a view to spend three years in Greece and Asia, and to put the last hand to his *Æneid*: but that he had scarcely landed at Athens when Augustus came there on his return from the East—whom he determined to accompany back to Italy. At Megara he fell ill upon the way; and his sickness being aggravated by the passage to Brundisium, he died there, a day or two after he arrived. Servius has none of these circumstances in his account. He tells us merely, *Periit . . Tarenti, in Apuliæ civitate: nam dum Metapontum cupit videre, valetudinem ex solis ardore contraxit.* Nor does he say in what year he died*.

* Nor is the testimony of the Epitaph, said to have been dictated by Virgil, with his last breath, on himself, (vide Jerome in *Chronico*: 155, ad annum Augusti xxv.) more in unison with the supposition of his dying at Brundisium, than with that of his dying at Tarentum.

Mantua me genuit: Calabri rapuere: tenet nunc | Parthenope. cecini pascua, rura, duces. Metapontum would be in Lucania; but both Tarentum and Brundisium were cities of Messapia, or the Salentini: and Calabria originally was a name of equal extent with Messapia. The same

The other account indeed is very improbable throughout—as supposing first that one who had formed the design of finishing off a poem like the *Æneid* within a certain time, would determine to go on his travels for that purpose; and secondly that, if he had made up his mind to spend the next three years abroad, he should so soon have resolved to turn back. It can scarcely be said that he did this out of compliment to Augustus: for he must have known that Augustus was on his return, and would shortly be in Italy again, before he determined to go abroad.

The truth of a visit of Virgil's to Attica I do not call in question. Horace, *Carminum* i. 3, alone proves this fact; and I think it not improbable that the first book of the *Odes* of Horace was published U.C. 731. The testimony of Suetonius, before cited, is no insuperable objection to the contrary.

epitaph is mentioned by the author of the *Vita*, and by Servius, *loco citato*, who yet supposes Virgil to have died in

Apulia. The fact is, he might be said to have died in Apulia or in Calabria indifferently.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XVIII.

Chronology of the Second Jewish War, in the time of Hadrian.

Vide Dissertation xv. vol. ii. page 81, last line.

IT will contribute to strengthen the probability of the conclusion, which we endeavoured to establish, respecting the duration of the first Jewish war, under Nero and Vespasian; if the same thing can be shewn, with any degree of credibility, to hold good of the second, in the time of Hadrian. Though that second war, as far as we can perceive, is not directly noticed in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, nor in our Saviour's prophecy on the mount; yet it was fully as calamitous as the first: nor could the "desolation determined," perhaps, be said to be absolutely over, until that also was past.

It is recorded by Dio^a, that 580,000 Jews perished in this second contest, by the sword alone: that 50 fortified places, and 985 villages or towns, which he calls "very considerable," were laid waste, and levelled with the ground: a degree of desolation to the face of the country which the ravages of the former war, though equally destructive of human life, are not known to have produced. The horrors of the siege of Jerusalem were renewed in that of Bithur. The consequences of this war, too, to the political rights and immunities of the Jewish people, were much more calamitous and permanent, than those of the former had been. With the close of this last rebellion, we must

^a lxix. 12—14.

date the termination of their political existence as a nation. Neither Titus nor Vespasian, when the contest in their time was over, had carried their hostility to the extent of dispossessing the survivors of their country, and of casting them out as exiles and wanderers, upon society: but this second experience of the turbulent and refractory spirit of the Jews left the Roman government no alternative except to banish them from Judæa; and to forbid them, under penalty of death, to set foot on their native soil.

Though the history of the second war is almost entirely unknown, yet the Jewish rabbis have preserved some remarkable traditions concerning it; shewing that the most memorable of the circumstances, which distinguished the former visitation, were equally characteristic of this. Jerome affords some countenance to these traditions in his commentary on Zech. viii: where he observes^b: *In hoc mense, (viz. the fifth in the Jewish year, answering to the Julian August,) et a Nabuchodonosor, et multa post sæcula a Tito et Vespasiano, templum Jerosolymis incensum est atque destructum: capta urbs Bethel, ad quam multa millia confugerant Judæorum: aratum Templum in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Annio Ruffo.* It would therefore be no extraordinary circumstance, if these national visitations should be found to agree in the respective periods of their duration, as well as in other remarkable instances of coincidence.

The anger of God against the cities of Judah was supposed to be still continuing, after seventy years from some beginning, in the second of Darius^c; and what is equally observable, the fasting and mourning for the national calamities are described to have been

^b Hieronymus, *Operum* iii. 1752. *ad calcem*. Cf. Mishna, ii. 7. 382. ^c Zech. i. 1. 12.

going on for the same length of time, in his fourth^d. I hope to shew elsewhere^e, that the second of Darius most probably bears date B. C. 521 *medio*: and his fourth B. C. 519 *medio*. The period of seventy years, that is, the appointed duration of the punishment of the Jews, properly began with their first captivity, B. C. 606: and properly ended with their restoration by Cyrus, B. C. 536. Yet seventy years of Divine indignation, or of national suffering and humiliation, were either just expired, or still current, B. C. 521, and B. C. 519.

It would be easy to ascertain these periods, by referring the former to B. C. 590 *exeunte*, when the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar was begun; and the latter to B. C. 588 *med.*, when it was brought to a close. But this is not our business at present. What I would observe upon them is, that the same period of seventy years, which was properly and primarily intended of the duration of time between B. C. 606, and B. C. 536, the beginning and the close of the Jewish captivity, is yet referred in the above passages to other extremes; within which some dispensation of retributive judgment was still going on, or was only just brought to a close. A coincidence, analogous to this, will be shewn to hold good in the present instance, if it can be rendered probable that as the first Jewish war began A. D. 66, U. C. 819, so the latter was ended A. D. 136, U. C. 889.

Capitolinus informs us that the rebellion of the Jews was scarcely over at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius^f; which bears date from July 10, A. D. 138, U. C. 891.

According to Eusebius^g, the siege of Biththera, or

^d Zech. vii. 5. 1.
iv. vi. 118. C.

^e Appendix, Dissertation xxii.

^f Vita, 5.

^g E. H.

Bithur, where the Jews made the most obstinate resistance, was not begun before the eighteenth of Hadrian, A. D. 134, U. C. 887.

By Dio or Xiphilinus^h, the close of the war is placed about the time of the death of Servianus; who was living and consul, A. D. 134, U. C. 887, and at the time of the adoption of Ælius Verus, U. C. 888 or U. C. 889: nor did his death long precede that of Hadrian himselfⁱ, July 10, A. D. 138.

These concurrent testimonies seem to imply that the war could not have been concluded before A. D. 135 or 136. And so by Eusebius, *Chronicon-Armeno-Latinum*, its close is regularly represented, Hadriani xix. Ol. 228. 4. This year answers to A. D. $\frac{1}{4}\frac{3}{4}$; and if the war was really brought to an end in the fifth Jewish month, it expired in the latter half of the nineteenth of Hadrian, A. D. 136, U. C. 889.

Eusebius' date is confirmed by Jerome: who, among other expositions of the prophecy of the seventy weeks, having given that *secundum Hebræos*, sums up the account in these terms^j: Hæc loquuntur Hebræi, non magnopere curantes a primo anno Darii, regis Persarum, usque ad extremam subversionem Jerusalem, quæ sub Hadriano eis accidit, supputari olympiades centum septuaginta quattuor, id est, annos sexcentos nonaginta sex, qui faciunt hebdomadas Hebraicas nonaginta novem, et annos tres: quando Cochebas, dux Judæorum, oppressus est, et Jerusalem usque ad solum diruta est.

The first of Darius is here confounded with the first of Cyrus, *regis Persarum*, B. C. 560*. In other

* Just as Suidas, voce 'Αναγι- μένης, according to his present reading, confounds the first of Cyrus, Olympiad 55, with the capture of Sardis, B. C. 548. Cf. ad 'Απιστρέας.

^h lxix. 15. 17. ⁱ Spartan, Hadrianus, 23. Verus Cæsar, 3. Dio, lxix. 17. Spartan, Hadrianus, 15. 25. ^j Operum iii. 1117. in Dan. ix. *ad calcem*.

respects the calculation is sufficiently exact: for six hundred and ninety-six current years, beginning B. C. 560, would be brought to an end A. D. 136.

There is good reason, then, to conclude that the second Jewish war terminated A. D. 136, U. C. 889, or thereabouts*.

The question of the time of its commencement is much more difficult. Yet I shall endeavour to shew that it may probably be dated A. D. 127, U. C. 880.

Jerome, in three^k places of his works, reckons it fifty years between the former war and the latter: which, though referred to the *end* of the former, A. D. 75, and to the *beginning* of the latter, will not place this later than A. D. 125, U. C. 878.

In his account of the exposition of the seventy weeks, *secundum Hebræos*, before mentioned^l, he supposes them to reckon it forty-nine years from the death of Vespasian to the time of the events in question. Vespasian died June 23, A. D. 79: whence, forty-nine years bring us to A. D. 128, U. C. 881.

Ab Hadriani temporibus, says he elsewhere^m, usque ad imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, in loco resurrectionis simulacrum Jovis; in crucis rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur †. As Constantine's reign bears date

* This date for the conclusion of the war is virtually confirmed by what Suidas, Φλέγων, observes of the Olympiads of Phlegon of Tralles; a digest of universal history, down to the 229th Olympiad, where it closed. The same work contained in brief the particulars of the Jewish war, as

well as other historical matters of various kinds—apparently among the last or latest which it recorded. We may presume then the war was just over where it closed, Olympiad 229, which bears date B. C. 137.

† These allusions of Jerome to the above idols, and their

^k Operum ii. 610. *ad calcem*. Epp. Criticæ: iii. 65. *ad calcem*. in Isaia vi: *ibid.* 725. *ad calcem*. in Ezech. v. Cf. Julius Pollux, *Chronicon*, 218. ^l Operum iii. 1117. *ad medium*. ^m Operum iv. Pars ii^a. 564. *ad medium*, *Epistolæ*, xlix.

July 25, A. D. 306, one hundred and eighty years before that would be A. D. 126, or 127.

It thus appears that he has *three* dates, none of which would be true in any sense, except as referred to the beginning of the second Jewish war—A. D. 125, A. D. 126, A. D. 128. The true year is as likely to be between the second and the third of these, viz. A. D. 127, as any where else.

Epiphanius supposes forty-seven years between the destruction of Jerusalem, and Hadrian's visit to Judæa, followed by the rebellion of the Jewsⁿ. If we refer this date to A. D. 70, it will place the revolt in the very first year of Hadrian, A. D. 117. It appears, however, from the context^o, that, whether right or wrong in itself, the date to which he refers is the second of Titus, U. C. 833–834, A. D. 80–81: forty-seven years from which actually expire, A. D. 127–128. It confirms this construction that they are supposed to expire in the twelfth of Hadrian. The twelfth of Hadrian bears date Aug. 11, A. D. 128, U. C. 881.

The motive to the Jewish rebellion, according to Spartian, was their being forbidden to practise the rite

sites, are illustrated by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii. 26. 497. D. 41. 503: Sulpicius Severus, ii. 45: Socrates, i. 9. 37. B. 17. 46. C: Sozomen, ii. 1. 440. C: Theodorit, i. 16. 45. D: Julius Pollux, *Chronicon*, 218. The existence of a statue of Venus, or a temple, dedicated to her, upon the site of mount Calvary, in particular, throws light upon an obscure allusion in Ambrose, i. 938. D. E. in Psalm. xlvii. §. 5, which would other-

wise be unintelligible: Simul quia Dominus secundum cæli tractum in Venerario passus est, qui erat locus in latere aquilonis. The Venerarium might denote the site of the temple or image of Venus, upon mount Calvary, from the time it was first set up there: and the spot might retain the name, even after the temple or image had been removed, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre erected in its stead.

ⁿ Opera, ii. 170. B. De Mensuris et Ponderibus, xiv. 170. A. xiii.

^o Cf. also 169. C. D.

of circumcision: according to Dio, was the foundation of Ælia Capitolina on the site of the ancient Jerusalem, and of a temple of Jupiter on the site of the former temple^p. According to both, however, the precise time of the revolt was the interval between Hadrian's presence in Judæa, and his visit to Syria or Egypt^q.

The reign of this emperor was almost entirely spent in travelling from place to place; and there was scarcely a quarter of his dominions, however remote, which he did not visit once at least. The times and orders of his journeys, however, are very difficult to be fixed: and the attempts of learned men, to follow and trace them year by year, are after all chiefly conjectural. If the reader is curious to see them chronologically arranged, he may consult Tillemont; or Eckhel, who has stated them in conformity to the opinions of Tillemont^r. It is unnecessary for *our* purpose to consider the date of his visits to any part of the empire, except Syria, Judæa, or Egypt: since it seems to be agreed that the rebellion of the Jews broke out soon after the emperor had, some time or other, paid a personal visit to their country, either in his way to Egypt or on his return from it*.

* Dio, lxi. 12, implies that it was *after* his return. He implies also that Hadrian came into Syria from Egypt, not into Egypt from Syria; passing

through Judæa by the way. Spartian, 14, implies that he came into Egypt, *peragrata Arabia*.

^p Spartian, Hadrianus, 14. Dio, lxi. 12. Cf. Philostorgius, vii. 11. 507. According to Jerome, in Chronico, ad ann. Hadriani xx. Ælia was not founded until after the war, in Hadrian's twentieth. It might have been founded before, but finished only then. The motive to the rebellion, alleged by Spartian, is confirmed apparently by a rescript of Antoninus Pius, produced by Casaubon, in his notes ad locum, from Modestinus. The prohibition in question seems to have been removed at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius; and about an hundred years after, Origen, Contra Celsum, ii. 13. Operum i. 399. A. speaks of the Jews as alone enjoying by law the right of practising circumcision. ^q Spartian, Hadrianus, 14. Dio, lxi. 11, 12. ^r Doctrina Numerorum Veterum, vi. 480. seqq.

Now, in the paucity of particulars relating to the motions of Hadrian, which remain to us from Dio, and under the great confusion and uncertainty of his life as related by Spartian; the best guide which we should have to follow upon this, or any similar question, would be his extant coins: and these do strongly support the conclusion that he visited Egypt in the eleventh year of his reign.

The coins of the several nomi of Egypt are described by Eckhel, iv. 99–115. These nomi are fifty-two in number*; and with five exceptions only, viz. the Aphroditopolite nome, the Mareote, the Nicopolite, the Oasite, and the Sethroite; they all exhibit coins of Hadrian, and thirty of them exhibit none but his.

Of those which exhibit the coins of Hadrian exclusively, the Pelusiote nome alone has no year specified on his coins; the rest all bear date in the eleventh year of his reign; and one only, the Heracleopolite, besides this date of the eleventh, has that of the fourteenth also. The remaining nomi, whose coins present the names of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, as well as that of Hadrian, nevertheless all exhibit the eleventh of the reign of the latter: and one only, the Saite nome, besides the eleventh, has the seventh and the seventeenth likewise. In many cases, too, there are several coins of the same nome, all bearing this date of the eleventh of Hadrian.

Now what reason is so likely to have produced this remarkable phenomenon—viz. that forty-seven of the nomi of Egypt should agree in exhibiting this *one* year, and in so large a majority of instances no year but that; as the supposition that Hadrian came into

* The nomi of Egypt were originally thirty-six. But Strabo (xvii. 1. §. 3. 477, 478) shews that some of these were subdivided; and more might be added in the course of time.

Egypt, and visited the several nomi successively, in this *one* year? Such a fact would at once explain the phenomenon: but nothing else will do so, satisfactorily.

True it is, that there are eight nomi; the Aphroditopolite, Arabia, the Arsinoite, the Athribite, the Cop-tite, the Naucratic, the Sebennyte, the Sethroite; which concur in exhibiting on their coins the thirteenth of Trajan. But, of this number, the Arsinoite exhibits also his fourteenth, and the Naucratic his twelfth. And, among the other nomi in general, the Memphite and Oasite shew his twelfth, and the Mene-laite his fifteenth: so that, as to this emperor in particular, the coins of the nomi commemorated merely the years of his reign promiscuously, the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth: and it is purely accident which has preserved a greater number, commemorative of the thirteenth, than of any other year. The years of Hadrian were doubtless commemorated too; yet besides his eleventh, three other years only, the seventh, the fourteenth, and the seventeenth, are to be met with upon the coins of all the nomi collectively.

In like manner, the eighth year of Antoninus Pius is commemorated in ten instances: the eleventh in one: the fifteenth in one: and the eighteenth in two. The first year of Marcus Aurelius as Cæsar, occurs once; the eighth three times: his first and his eighth as emperor, each once.

The coins which commemorate the deification of Antinous, who is known to have accompanied Hadrian into Egypt, and to have perished there sometime after his arrival^s, exhibit no date. Yet Eusebius, *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum*, places his death in Egypt in the eleventh of Hadrian's reign: Jerome, *Chronicon*, in the thirteenth.

^s Dio, lxi. 11.

Putting, therefore, these testimonies together, that is, combining the implicit evidence of the coins of the Egyptian nomi, with the direct assertions of Epiphanius and Eusebius; perhaps we shall be justified in concluding that Hadrian was certainly in Egypt in the eleventh year of his reign. I will observe, however, that according to the Egyptian or Alexandrine mode of computation, this eleventh would be reckoned to bear date from August 29, U. C. 879, A. D. 126—the same day, U. C. 880, A. D. 127. Between these extremes, he must have visited Egypt; and, consequently, the rebellion of the Jews, if it coincided with the time of that visit, must have broken out.

There are, however, four coins of Alexandria, which all bear date in the fifteenth of Hadrian's reign; that is, according to the same mode of reckoning, between Aug. 29, U. C. 883, and Aug. 29, U. C. 884: and which in the opinion of Eckhel strongly imply that he was in Egypt between those extremes. I refer for their description to Eckhel himself^t: though I cannot agree with him in thinking that the inference in question is so strongly implied by them. They have not the inscription, *Adventui Augusti*: while on the contrary, those coins which have this inscription, are without the date of the year. It is inferred that they commemorate an *adventus Augusti* only from the nature of the device upon them. But this device might apply to other occasions. Two of them represent the genius of Alexandria holding out to the emperor an handful of ears of corn: the third represents it holding out a branch of olive to the emperor, who is riding in a chariot of four horses: the fourth exhibits the emperor sitting on board a ship. The ears of corn may simply denote an *εὐθηνία*, or year of plenty: the olive branch

^t Tom. vi. 489, 490. and iv. 64.

may refer to the occasion, mentioned by Vopiscus^v, when the Alexandrians had given some offence to the emperor: and as to the two last together, if they each refer to an *adventus Augusti* in the same year, it seems incongruous that he should be represented both in a chariot and in a ship: especially as Hadrian's journeys, so far as we are informed about them, were chiefly performed by land and on foot. And if Spartan is to be believed he came into Egypt by land^u.

In support of his opinion, Eckhel further appeals to the testimony of the Greek epigram, which Pococke copied from the statue of Memnon in Egypt^x.

Ἔκλυον αὐδήςαντος ἐγὼ Πόβλιος Βαλβίνος
 φωνᾶς τᾶς θείας Μέμνονος, ἥ Φαμένωφ.
 ἦλθον ὁμοῦ δ' ἐράτα βασιλῆϊδι τῇδε Σαβίνα,
 ὧρας δὲ πρώτας ἄλιος ἔσχε δρόμον.
 κοιράνω Ἀδριανῶ πέμπτῳ δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ
 ἅματα δ' ἔσχευ Ἀθὺρ εἴκοσι καὶ πίσυρα.

That the statue of Memnon was supposed by the Egyptians to represent a native hero called Phamenoph, appears from the testimony of Pausanias^y. But the evidence of this epigram is not exactly in unison with that of the coins. The epigram implies that Sabina; the same, doubtless, with Hadrian's queen of that name^z; was in Egypt on the 24th of Athyr in the fifteenth of Hadrian: but according to what reckoning? Surely, not the Egyptian, but the common one: for Balbinus, the writer of the inscription, was a Roman courtier in attendance upon Hadrian's queen. Now, according to the common reckoning, the 24th of Athyr in the fifteenth of Hadrian would answer to Nov. 20, U. C. 884; in the sixteenth of Hadrian, according to the Egyptian computation.

^v Saturninus, 8. ^u Spartan, Hadrianus, 10. 14. Dio, lxix. 9. ^x *loc. cit.*
^y Attica, xlii. ^z Spartan, Hadrianus, 1. 2. 23. Dio, lxix. 1.

But, as it may be said that Hadrian might come into Egypt in his fifteenth, and continue there until his sixteenth, according to the Egyptian mode of reckoning, I shall not insist upon this objection. I contend, notwithstanding, that the natural inference from the inscription is, that Sabina was in Egypt at the time of this visit to the statue, by herself. And this inference, if just, would go far to prove that the coins above-mentioned refer to no coming of Hadrian's in his fifteenth. For those *numi* of Alexandria, which actually commemorate an *adventus Augusti*, exhibit Hadrian and Sabina in conjunction^a, and so imply that they were sometime in Egypt together. But both the coins and the epigram; the one by referring only to Hadrian, the other by mentioning only Sabina; conspire to shew that this time was not the fifteenth of his reign in particular.

Still if the deference which is due to so competent an authority as Eckhel's, should induce any to concur in his opinion, and to assume a visit of Hadrian to Egypt in his fifteenth year; it is nevertheless a possible supposition that Hadrian was *twice* in Egypt—once in his eleventh, and again in his fifteenth: a supposition which reconciles the testimony of these several coins together. It derives some countenance from a letter of Hadrian's to Servianus, written either during the consulship of the latter, or after it; and consequently not before U. C. 887, A. D. 134; which Vopiscus has given us, in his Life of Saturninus, on the authority of Hadrian's freedman Phlegon^b. Having spoken of his being in Egypt, he adds, Denique ut primum inde discessi, et in filium meum Verum multa dixerunt, et de Antonino (*potius* Antinoo) quæ dixerunt comperisse te credo. If this document be au-

^a Eckhel, vi. 489.

^b Cap. 8.

thentic, Hadrian had not long left Egypt, on some recent occasion, before the adoption of Verus; the time of which was either U. C. 883, or U. C. 889: though Eckhel, on the faith of an inscription in Gruter, prefers the latter^c: and, according to Spartian, whensoever he adopted him, it was *peragrato jam orbe terrarum*^d.

As Eusebius, Chronicon, loc. cit. supposes Hadrian to be in Egypt in his eleventh year, so he supposes him to be passing the winter at Athens in his thirteenth, A. D. 129 or 130. Spartian, in his account of Hadrian's journeys, mentions two visits of his to Athens^e: the first of which was later than a visit to Asia, and the second than some visit to Africa. But Spartian is here at direct variance with Dio: who also mentions two visits to Athens or Greece, one in Hadrian's way to the East, when he was initiated in the mysteries^f, and another on his return back, when he presided at the Dionysia, and consecrated the Olympium^g. To be there at the time of the mysteries, he must have been in Greece in September; and to be present at the Dionysia, he must have been there in February or March. Spartian supposes his presence at the mysteries and at the Dionysia, upon his first visit, and as he was returning from Asia to Rome; and his dedication of the Olympium on his second visit, when he was making another progress into the East.

There is consequently great uncertainty as to the

^c Tom. vi. 524. ^d Verus, 2. ^e Cap. 13. ^f lxi. 11. ^g Ibid. 16. Prosper, in Chronico, 709. supposes Hadrian to be wintering at Athens, U. C. 878. Cf. Cassiodorus, Chronicon. This last Chronicon, in fact, as it stands at present, asserts or implies Hadrian's being at Athens, under the following consuls: Verus and Ambiguus (Ambibulus) A. D. 126: Gallicanus and Titianus, A. D. 127: Pompeianus and Commodus, A. D. 136: under which last it places his dedicating of various buildings there, and presiding as agonotheta, &c. Three years earlier, under Hibertus (Hiberus) and Silanus, A. D. 133, it places the cessation of his persecution of the Christians; which would imply the presentation of the apologies of Aristides and Quadratus to him and his rescript to Fundanus, about that time. At this time too Hadrian might be returning from or going to Egypt.

true time and order of these different visits to Athens or Greece: to discuss which, at any length, is not my intention. I will observe only, it is equally probable that Hadrian would stop at Athens, whether on his way to, or on his return from, the East; and therefore, it is equally probable that he might be initiated in the mysteries, as Dio supposes, on his way into the East; or as Eusebius and Spartian suppose, when he was coming back to Rome. On the same occasion, and after the initiation in question, Quadratus and Aristides, if Eusebius and Jerome are to be believed ^b, must have presented their apologies to Hadrian*: and it is a singular coincidence that the letter, above referred to from Vopiscus, certainly exhibits sentiments not unfavourable to Christianity†. The effect of those apologies was to stop an incipient persecution: and the time when they were presented might be between the eleventh and the fifteenth of Hadrian.

Philostratusⁱ tells us that Hadrian consecrated the Olympium at Athens, δι' ἐξήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν ἀποτελεσθέν. Now, Harpocration, under the article

* Eusebius, it is true, Chronicon Armeno-Latinum, falls into the absurdity of supposing a double initiation of Hadrian's; once in his eighth, and again in his thirteenth. The same is true of Jerome in Chronico also. And they place both the apologies in question at the time of the former. But, so far as regards the circumstance of their being presented when Hadrian was initiated, they might just as well be placed after the latter.

† See also the life of Alexander Severus, by Lampridius, 43: whence it appears that some

time or other Hadrian thought of deifying Christ. His rescript to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, forbidding the punishment of the Christians out of deference to mere popular clamour, is quoted by Justin, Apologia Prima, *ad finem*; Cf. Eusebius, E. H. iv. viii. ix: and by Eusebius and Jerome (in Chronicis) is placed in the same year when he received the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides. Xiphilius reckons Hadrian and Antoninus Pius among distinguished protectors of Christianity, lxx. 3.

^b Eusebius, Chronicon Armeno-Latinum, Ad annum 2140: Hieronymus, iv. iida. 109. De SS. Ecclesiasticis, xix. xx. Ibid. *ad principium*, Epist. 83. Cf. Eusebius, E. H. iv. 3. ⁱ Vitæ Sophistarum, i. 532. C. Polemo.

προπύλαια, mentions from Philochorus that the propylæa, at Athens, were begun, ἐπὶ Εὐθυμένους, B. C. 437. It is well known that the Peloponnesian war^k interrupted, by its occurrence, the progress of these or similar undertakings. The same passage of Harpocration quotes the first book of Heliodorus, περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἀκροπόλεως, to shew that the propylæa were finished in five years; (Cf. Suidas, in προπύλαια;) consequently B. C. 432, having cost 2012 talents: which so far agrees with Thucydides. It is not improbable that the Olympium was begun immediately after the completion of the former work; and had therefore been going on one year, when it was stopped by the war*.

If Philostratus' date is to be depended on, the completion of the temple, 560 years after B. C. 431, would fall out A. D. 129 or 130 in the thirteenth of Hadrian, when Eusebius supposes him to have been wintering at Athens, and at the same time building or dedicating various public works there. So likewise Jerome, in Chronico, under the same date or the sixteenth.

It is not unlikely that Hadrian's first visit to Egypt might be paid about the time of that visit to Africa, which Spartian placed between the two visits to Athens. We may probably infer^l that he did not visit Africa for the first five years of his reign, if it be

* This conjecture derives some support from the testimony of Dio Chrysostom, Oratio ii. περὶ βασιλείας, 85. 10-15, who classes them both together; unless indeed by Ὀλύμπιον he means the statue of Jupiter Olympius. But that was made at the expense of the Eleans, see Oratio xii. 399. 39. 412. 35.

Strabo speaks of the Olympium as still unfinished in his time, ix. i. §. 17. 364. So also Dicæarchus, in his βίος Ἑλλάδος, where he is describing Athens: Ὀλύμπιον, ἡμιτελὲς μὲν, κατάπληξιν δ' ἔχον τὴν τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπογραφὴν γενόμενον δ' ἂν βέλτιστον εἶπερ συνετελέσθη; p. 22, ex editione Guilielmi Manzi, Romæ 1819.

^k Thucydides, ii. 13.

^l Vita, 22.

true that *Ad adventum ejus post quinquennium pluit* : nor, if we consider how many other places he had visited meanwhile, not until much later. From Spartian, 5—11. 15, and Dio, lxix. 1, 2. 7. 18, 19, we may collect that he could not have visited Britain before the fourth year of his reign ; and the course of his journeyings afterwards will lead to the inference that it would be four or five years more before he would be in Africa. And Spartian supposes him to come into Egypt out of Arabia, as Dio does out of Judæa ^m.

The duration of the second Jewish war is certainly found represented at three years and six months. But so is the first ; and by the same authority, the Hebrew expositors of the seventy weeks. Jerome, *loc. cit.* : *Nec ignoramus quosdam illorum dicere quod una hebdomada, de qua scriptum est: Confirmabit pactum multis hebdomada una ; dividatur in Vespasiano et in Hadriano: quod juxta historiam Josephi, Vespasianus et Titus tribus annis et sex mensibus pacem cum Judæis fecerint. tres autem anni et sex menses sub Hadriano supputantur, quando Jerusalem omnino subversa est ; et Judæorum gens catervatim cæsa : ita ut Judææ quoque finibus pellerentur **.

* The truth, indeed, appears to be, that supposing the war to have broken out in the eleventh or twelfth of Hadrian, the last three or four years were the most arduous part of the struggle : and these would bear date from the fifteenth or sixteenth of Hadrian. In the sixteenth both Eusebius and Jerome (in *Chronicis*) place the commencement of the war ; and in the eighteenth or nineteenth its close. As an average statement this might be sufficiently correct. We may

here observe, that the anachronism, committed by both these authorities, in dating the rebellion and reduction of the Jews in the *second* of Hadrian ; arose, most probably, from confounding the rebellion under Hadrian, with that under Trajan. The latter was only just over at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian. Cf. Jerome, *Ad annum Hadriani v.* when he is said to have conducted colonies into Libya, *Quæ a Judæis vastata fuerat* : doubtless at the time of the insurrection

^m Spartian, *Vita*, 14. Dio, lxix. 11.

That the war was a long and a severe one is distinctly attested by Dioⁿ: that different commanders must have been employed in it, on the side of the Romans, Titus Annius, or Vinnius, Rufus, according to the rabbinical traditions *, Julius Severus, brought for that purpose, from Britain, according to Dio, is also on record. Yet Hadrian himself must sometime have been with the army, or in its neighbourhood: if, as Dio relates, in consequence of the losses sustained, he omitted in writing to the senate, the usual preamble of his epistles °; ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὑγιαίνουμεν †. Now, at what time could this be, except after his first presence in Egypt or Judea? If so, it indicates some subsequent visit to the same neighbour-

of the Jews of Cyrene, under Trajan. The same anachronism occurs in the Paschal Chronicle, i. 474. l. 3. sqq. 475. l. 3. which places the destruction of Jerusalem in the third of Hadrian, yet his visit to Egypt, Coss. Aviola et Pansa, U. C. 875, in his sixth.

* In the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius this name is strangely corrupted; Tycinio filio Rufi, there occurring, for Titus Vinnius Rufus. Unless, indeed, the orthography of the name in full, was Titus Annius Velius Rufus. The name of Velius Rufus, as that of a well-known public character before his own time, occurs in Antoninus, De Rebus Suis, xii. 27. though, Gataker, in his notes upon the passage, throws no light upon it. Yet it might be the name of one of the Roman commanders, in the Jewish war under Hadrian; for Rufus appears to have been a military character. In the pas-

sage, quoted from Jerome, supra p. 90, he was called Titus Annius Rufus. In Chronico, ad annum Hadriani xvi. he calls him Tenius Rufus, which may be a corruption for Titus Annius Rufus, written in brief, viz. T. Annius Rufus; or simply for Vinnius Rufus. A similar corruption of the name occurs, Operum iii. 1117. *ad medium*, in Dan. ix. where Ælius Hadrianus, it is said, rebellantes Judæos Timotheo magistro exercitus pugnante superavit.

† Frontonis opera inedita, pars ii. 321. De Bello Parthico: Quid avo vestro Hadriano imperium obtinente . . . quantum militum a Judæis, quantum ab Britannis cæsum. We may infer from this passage, also, that the Jewish war was followed by the revolt in Britain; and therefore that, as the latter was going on, or beginning, at the accession of Antoninus, so the former was not over much before the same time.

hood, and late in the duration of the contest ; when he might also have been in Egypt, and *that* in or about the fifteenth of his reign.

There are coins of Gaza extant, of the time of Hadrian, which imply that something occurred, U. C. 883, to induce the inhabitants of that city to adopt a new era, in conjunction with their ancient one, which bore date from U. C. 693. It was conjectured by Norisius that this new era was adopted by them, to commemorate some visit of Hadrian's to their city in U. C. 883 : and the conjecture is certainly a possible one. There is, however, an anomaly about this era ; viz. that it bears date from a different time of the year from the old. Annus v. of this era synchronises with annus CXCIV. and CXCV. of the old. Neither does it proceed further than the fifth year, answering to U. C. 887, or U. C. 888, in the eighteenth or nineteenth of Hadrian. Cf. Eckhel, iii. 452, 453.

The cause of the adoption of the era is, therefore, obscure : though it may still refer to some presence of Hadrian's in those parts between U. C. 883, and U. C. 888 : in which case the time embraced by it coincided with what was probably the most arduous and critical period in the Jewish struggle : and it closed with the end of the contest, the year before the adoption of Verus ; at which time we had reason to conclude from Hadrian's letter to Servianus, that he was personally in Egypt.

A sentence has been preserved by Eusebius from the apology of Quadratus abovementioned, which asserts that many of those who had been the subjects of miracles, wrought by our Saviour, had lived to his time ; so as we may presume to have been seen by him. If there is any difficulty upon this point, it is not greater as concerns the fifteenth, than as concerns the eighth of Hadrian. Between A. D. 30, and A. D. 131, there

were certainly more years than the life of one person can be supposed to have occupied. But there is no reason whatever to imagine that the continued existence of many of the almost innumerable subjects of our Lord's miracles, and the personal knowledge of a man advanced in life, like Quadratus, might not meet half way; about A. D. 80. St. John the apostle was alive twenty years or more after this time. Cf. Eusebius, E. H. iii. 37. 109. A. iv. 3. 23. 143. D. v. 17. 183. D.*

* The anecdote recorded by Socrates, (*Ecclesiastica Historia*, i. 10. Cf. Suidas also, voce 'Ακέσιος,) respecting the conversation between the emperor Constantine and Acesius, a Novatian bishop—a conversation which passed at the council of Nice—was repeated to the historian by one who had been present at the council, and an eyewitness of what had passed there: one Auxanon, as it appears, a Novatian presbyter; see E. H. i. 13. 41. D. and ii. 38. 142. D. 143. A. Now the council was held A. D. 325, and Socrates could not have been writing much before A. D. 439, the seventeenth consulate of Theodosius the younger, down to which he brings his history. Thus we see that only one life was necessary as a link of connection for a period of more

than one hundred years, between the historian Socrates, and the proceedings of the council of Nice. Cf. the same historian, iii. 19. 192. A. B. It makes no difference to this conclusion, that Socrates, according to his own account, (i. 13. 41, D.) when Auxanon related these particulars to him, was a very young man; and Auxanon himself κομιδῇ νήπιος, when present at the council along with Acesius. Both were of an age to take notice of what passed, or to remember what was told them. Evagrius also, E. H. iii. 32. 362. B. compared with xxxiii. 363. A. supplies another instance of old persons, still living in his time, and able to remember and give an account of what had happened eighty years before.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XIX.

On the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, and the second part of the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles.

Vide Dissertation xv. vol. ii. page 19. line 3—page 62. last line.

IT may not, perhaps, be considered sufficient that we should have shewn the first twelve chapters of the Acts, with respect to the times and the periods which they embrace, to require to be distributed in a certain manner; the proof of which position in subserviency to the general purposes of a Gospel Harmony was fully stated in Dissertation xv; unless it is further demonstrated that the sequel and residue of the history admit of such a distribution. For the sake, therefore, of establishing this fact, I shall devote the present Dissertation to the discussion of the remainder of the Acts, from the thirteenth chapter inclusively, to the close; in the course of which I shall necessarily have occasion to treat of the chronology of the Epistles of St. Paul.

The notices of time, or such other indications as might serve to ascertain the chronology of the Acts, are interspersed in the body of the history; and are withal of so peculiar a nature, as to render it much easier and much safer, to begin by tracing the course of events from a certain fixed point backwards, than from any point forwards. Two such points, each of them coming within the compass of the time which remains to be investigated, are capable of being determined;

and as they may be ascertained independently of one another, and yet will be found to coincide in one result, no inconvenience is likely to arise from our beginning with the consideration of the latest first.

When St. Paul, on the occasion of his last visit to Jerusalem recorded in the Acts, was brought before the Jewish sanhedrim^a, Ananias presided at the sanhedrim, in quality of high priest; and yet St. Paul did not know him to be the high priest; or rather, he did not know that there was at that time any high priest. The true meaning of his reply—οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἔστιν ἀρχιερεύς—upon which we may ground this inference, has been obscured by the inaccuracy of the authorized version; I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest. We need not object to the rendering of the historical present, ὅτι ἔστι, by *was*, for that is more agreeable to the genius of our language, as the other is to the idiom of the Greek^b, than the contrary would be: the objection lies only to the rendering, ὅτι ἔστιν ἀρχιερεύς—standing absolutely as it does, and yet being supposed to stand for the name of the high priest *officially*—as if it had been expressed, ὅτι ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, or as if the whole had stood, οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἀδελφοί, τοῦτον ὅτι ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς.

The person who had just reproved St. Paul, speaking under his own impression, had very naturally said: τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Θεοῦ λοιδορεῖς; and St. Paul, if he had meant to be understood of any particular person as high priest, would have expressed himself with equal propriety. There is an instance, very much akin to each of these passages, at Acts xix. 2. St. Paul inquired of the disciples at Ephesus, εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες; where, as he did not mean the Holy Ghost absolutely, but some one or other of the gifts or the graces

^a Acts xxiii. 1—5.

^b Vide Acts ix. 26. 38. xii. 9.

of the Holy Ghost ; he could not so properly have used the article as omitted it : Have ye received an holy ghost—that is, any gift or χάρισμα of the Holy Ghost—in consequence of your having believed ? To this the disciples replied, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ, εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔστιν, ἠκούσαμεν. No, so far from that ; we have not even heard that there was an holy ghost : we did not know that there was any such gift to be received.

On the same principle the reply of St. Paul, οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἔστιν ἀρχιερεὺς, which is so far exactly analogous to that, ought to be rendered in a similar manner ; I did not know, brethren, that there was an high priest. The correctness of this version, I think, is unimpeachable ; and while that is the case, no words can more plainly declare at what juncture of circumstances the speaker must have come to Jerusalem, or have been standing before the council ; viz. at a time when there was no regular high priest, but when some one was either altogether usurping the office, or at the utmost, was only *pro tempore* acting instead of the regular high priest. This some one in either case was doubtless Ananias ; and the history of Ananias is as follows.

Herod of Chalcis, either in the year before or in the very year of his death ; that is, either before or in the eighth of Claudius^c ; removed Joseph the son of Camudus, or Cami, whom he had appointed to the priesthood a few years before^d, and nominated Ananias the son of Nebedæus in his stead^e. This was also the year in which Cumanus succeeded to Tiberius Alexander.

After that, some time between the eighth of Claudius as before, and the end of his twelfth, Ananias was sent to Rome by Quadratus, the governor of Syria^e ; and he was sent upon a charge of high treason. From

^c Ant. Jud. xx. v. 2. ^d Ibid. i. 3. ^e Ibid. vi. 2. vii. 1. Bell. ii. xii. 5, 6.

the time of this mission, consequently, he was no longer high priest; but instead of him, at a point of time coincident with, or at least not later than the first of Nero, Jonathan, son of Ananus^f, the Annas of the Gospel history, and known in Josephus as Ananus the son of Seth, was so; which Jonathan was sent to Rome as well as Ananias*^g, and either had been appointed high priest at the time of the removal of Ananias, or was so upon their return in common from Rome^h: of which return, as they were acquitted of blame by Claudiusⁱ, there can be no doubt in the case of either.

The next high priest, of whom mention occurs, was Ishmael; a different person from both the former; appointed by Agrippa the younger^k, before the close of the administration of Felix. Between the first of Nero, then, and the appointment of Ishmael, either there was no regular high priest at all, or it was Jonathan.

But Jonathan, not long after his appointment, was assassinated at one of the feasts; through the instrumentality of the Sicarii, but by the subornation of Felix^l. This assassination therefore took place either in or after the *first* of Nero, yet before the removal of Felix; and the removal of Felix was prior to the loss of the influence of his brother Pallas; or rather it was while that influence was at its height^m. Now the influence of Pallas with Nero depended more or less on his influence with Agrippina the mother of Nero, and upon

* It is said, indeed, in the Antiquities, xx. vi. 2, that Ananias only, and his son Ananus, (Cf. Bell. ii. xii. 6.) who was before captain of the temple, were sent to Rome; and this was probably the case.

^f Ant. xx. viii. 4, 5. Bell. ii. xiii. 3. ^g Bell. ii. xii. 6. ^h Bell. ii. xii. 5.
 Ant. xx. viii. 5. ⁱ Ant. xx. vi. 3. Bell. ii. xii. 7. ^k Ant. xx. viii. 8.
^l Ant. xx. viii. 5. Bell. ii. xiii. 3. ^m Ant. xx. viii. 9.

her influence with Nero himself; and as Agrippina was assassinated by Nero, in the month of March, U. C. 812, in the fifth year of his reign, so was Pallas himself put to death four years after, U. C. 815, in the eighth or the ninth ⁿ. His influence with Nero therefore could not have been at its height later than the fifth of Nero; it had already begun to decline so early as his second, U. C. 808^o. The removal of Felix then cannot be placed later than the fifth of Nero; nor consequently the appointment of Ishmael later than the fourth. It follows therefore that between the death of Jonathan, either in or soon after the first of Nero, and the appointment of Ishmael either in or before the fourth, there was no regular high priest.

The duration of this interregnum may perhaps be limited as follows. The appointment of Ishmael is placed in the Antiquities after the dispute between the Jews and the Greeks of Cæsarea; the dispute at Cæsarea is placed after the appearance of the Egyptian false prophet; the appearance of the Egyptian false prophet is placed after the assassination of Jonathan; St. Paul's arrival at Jerusalem was after that appearance also ^p, but two years, if not more, prior to the removal of Felix^q; the removal of Felix was later than all these events, yet not later than the fifth of Nero. We may safely conclude then, that the death of Jonathan could not have taken place as not before the first so neither after the second of Nero; and the appointment of Ishmael as not before the second, so neither after the fourth of the same reign: and the critical period during which there was either no high priest, or some one usurping his office, or merely filling it for a time; will lie between the last half of the second, and the

ⁿ Tacitus, Annales, xiv. 1. 4. 65.

^o Ibid. xiii. 14.

^p Acts xxi. 37, 38.

^q Ibid. xxiv. 27.

first of the third of Nero. That Ishmael was appointed at the last of these times I think is implied by a remarkable mistake of Josephus himself.

Antiquities iii. xv. 3. mention is made of a famine or dearth in Judæa, when Claudius was emperor, Ishmael was high priest, and it was not long before the Jewish war: all which criteria cannot possibly concur together in the case of any famine in the reign of Claudius whatever; and more especially in that of the famine mentioned in the Acts, and considered at large Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 51—56. Ishmael was never high priest under Claudius at all; in the first year of whose reign Herod Agrippa appointed Simon called Cantheras^r, and before the third, Matthias son of Ananus^s, and Elionæus son of Cantheras^t: and in the third or the fourth Herod of Chalcis appointed Joseph son of Cami or Camudus^u, and in the sixth or the seventh Ananias the son of Nebedæus; after whom the succession, until the time of Ishmael, was perpetuated in the person of Jonathan the son of Ananus.

The high priest then during the great famine was Joseph the son of Camudus: and though Ishmael had been so, still what happened at the latest in the fourth of Claudius, twenty-two or twenty-three years before the beginning of the war, could not be said to have happened but a *little* before it. The frequency of famines, however, besides the great famine, at this period of contemporary history, is a well-attested fact; and in reality was only the completion of our Saviour's prediction to that effect, in the prophecy delivered on mount Olivet. Suetonius alludes to *Assiduas sterilitates*; and Tacitus to *Frugum egestas, et orta ex eo fames*; both towards the end of the reign of Claudius:

^r Ant. Jud. xix. vi. 2.

^s Ibid. 4.

^t Ibid. viii. 1, 2.

^u Ibid. xx. i. 2, 3.

in which they are followed by Eusebius and Jerome and by Orosius also^v *. And if Dio does not specify the same things, it is because after U.C. 802, and the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina, he gives no particulars at all; but passes over the rest of his reign in silence. Yet in the Antiquities, directly after the appointment of Ishmael, in the description of the violences committed by the higher orders of the priests on the inferior, there seems to be clear intimation of some period of dearth^w. Josephus might mean this; though by a lapse of memory he assigned it to the time of Claudius, and not of Nero: a lapse of memory which would be easily accounted for, if this like the former happened in the *third* year of the reigning emperor, and in the *first* year of the presiding high priest. And this famine being about nine years prior to the war, might well be said to have happened but a little before it.

The power of appointing the high priest was vested at this time in the younger Agrippa; whose dominions, as limited under Claudius, had been considerably enlarged on the accession of Nero^x. Towards the end of the reign of Claudius he was absent at Rome^y; and if the Agrippa, who is mentioned by Tacitus^z, as commanded by Nero to cooperate with Corbulo against

* Certain of the coins of Alexandria, bearing the name of Agrippina, commemorate an *εἰθηνία* in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirtieth of Claudius, which, according to the Alexandrine reckoning, would be, U.C. 804, 805, 806. Vide Eckhel, iv. 52.

andrine coins commemorate an *εἰθηνία* in the third, fourth, and fifth of Nero, according to the same reckoning—U. C. 810, 811, 812. Eckhel, iv. 53.

In each of these instances, the coins were probably struck to commemorate the recurrence of plenty after a time of dearth.

^v Suetonius, Claudius, 18. Eusebius and Jerome, Chronica. ii. xiii. 2.

Tacitus, Annales, xii. 43. ^w xx. viii. 8. ^y Ant. xx. vi. 3. Bell. ii. xii. 7.

Orosius, vii. 6. ^x Ant. Jud. xx. viii. 4. ^z Annales, xiii. 7, 8, 9.

the Parthians and upon the Euphrates, was the same with Agrippa the younger; it is plain that, whether he was at Rome or not in the first of Nero, the execution of that commission would keep him at a distance from Judæa until the beginning of Nero's second year at least. The observation of Tacitus, *Quæ, in alios consules egressa, conjunxi*, demonstrates that Corbulo and his allies were engaged upon it at least till the summer of U.C. 808. If after that the high priest Jonathan, as I consider the most probable state of the case, was assassinated at the feast of Tabernacles, or at the latest at the feast of the Passover next ensuing, and both in the second of Nero; the time when an high priest was indispensably wanted was the recurrence of the day of Atonement; and therefore the time, by which a successor to Jonathan would almost of necessity require to be appointed, would be just before that recurrence, at the very end of the second of Nero. But the arrival of St. Paul at Jerusalem was certainly at a Pentecost^a; and if that was the Pentecost between these extremes, it was the Pentecost of the second of Nero, U.C. 809. With this conclusion every note of time and every incidental circumstance, disclosed in the history and in any way connected with his arrival, will be found exactly to agree.

I. The Sicarii^b, a race of men who had not started up before the first of Nero, but who continued long after, would now be in existence, and be known as a distinct body.

II. The regular high priest, Jonathan, had been very recently murdered; and no successor as yet had been appointed in his stead: Ananias, however, who had once been high priest (and for two or three years)

^a Acts xx. 16. xxi. 27.
viii. 5. Bell. ii. xiii. 3.

^b Acts xxi. 38. Suidas, *Σικάριοι*. Ant. Jud. xx.

himself, and was probably the vicar of Jonathan even while he was living, was as likely as any one to be acting for him ; and yet could not be known or recognised as the regular high priest.

III. The Egyptian impostor, whose appearance is alluded to in the Acts, and the fact of which both the Antiquities and the War mention after the death of Jonathan^c, must very lately have been defeated, or at least very lately have appeared in Jerusalem ; a conclusion which the suspicion of Lysias, that St. Paul might be this same person, is enough of itself to suggest. Josephus also shews that the impostor was not made prisoner, though his followers were attacked and dispersed. All this might have taken place between the Passover and the Pentecost of U.C. 809.*

* As to the means of reconciling the account, which Josephus has given of this impostor, with the above allusion to his history in the Acts ; I entirely agree in the solution proposed by Dr. Lardner. The interrogation of Lysias related to such of his followers, as he had originally led with him out of Jerusalem, which might be only four thousand ; the account of his defeat in Josephus relates to those whom he was bringing back with him thither from the wilderness, when Felix met him and put him to the rout ; and these might be as many as thirty thousand.

It is manifest from Josephus that he was once, but only once, in Jerusalem ; very probably at the feast of the Passover, U.C. 809, and that, before his departure to the wilderness ; but that he was returning thither

again, by way of mount Olivet, when he was attacked by the Roman governor. The statement of the numbers killed or taken prisoners, in consequence of this attack, relates to a part of his history not mentioned in the Acts ; and however differently it may be represented in the Antiquities compared with the War, it concerns the reconciliation of Josephus with himself, not with St. Luke : yet Dr. Lardner's solution of this difficulty also appears to me perfectly just and natural.

I think, however, that at the time of St. Paul's arrival in Jerusalem, he had not yet returned ; nor did so until some time afterwards. The language of Lysias clearly implies that he had been indeed in Jerusalem, and had led out thence a body of men into the wilderness ; but it also implies that as yet no

^c Acts xxi. 38. Ant. Jud. xx. viii. 6. Bell. ii. xiii. 5.

IV. Felix was now the acting procurator, and he had performed such services to the community at large as might give occasion to the complimentary language of Tertullus^d; for he had before this made prisoner one Eleazar, a chief captain of the *λῆσται*, who had previously infested the country with impunity for twenty years^e; and he was still employed daily in capturing and putting to death numbers of the same description of persons^f.

V. He had been many years in office, as St. Paul reminds him^g; which may thus be proved.

Orosius places the appointment of Cumanus in the seventh of Claudius^h; nor does Josephus, as we saw in Dissertation xv. vol.ii. p. 52, militate against this supposition. It is more probable, however, that his appointment is to be placed actually in the summer of the eighth of Claudius. On this principle the disturbance at the Passoverⁱ, which followed soon after his appointment, may reasonably be supposed to have happened at the Passover in the ninth of Claudius, U. C. 802. Between this and the Passover mentioned in the War^j; which shews that the feast only generally alluded to in the Antiquities was a Passover^k; including the fresh outrage committed on Stephanus the emperor's bondman, and the insurrectionary warfare with the Samaritans, there could be only one year's interval: in support of which conclusion there is this additional reason, that the feast, in going up to which the Galileans were waylaid by the Samaritans, is called *ἀπλως, ἡ ἐορτή*^l.

The degree of estimation, in which the feast of Ta-

more had been heard, or was then by Felix took place strictly known about him. His defeat when St. Paul was at Cæsarea.

^d Acts xxiv. 2, 3.

^e Ant. Jud. xx. viii. 5. Bell. ii. xiii. 2.

^f Ibid.

^g Acts xxiv. 10.

^h vii. 6.

ⁱ Ant. Jud. xx. v. 3. Bell. ii. xii. 1.

^j ii. xii. 6.

^k xx. vi. 2.

^l Bell. ii. xii. 3.

bernacles more particularly was held, justifies us *a priori* in supposing the allusion to be to that feast. Τῆς Σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης, ἐορτὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τηρουμένη—Ὁ τῆς Σκηνοπηγίας καιρὸς, ἐορτῆς σφόδρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀγιοτάτης καὶ μεγίστης—Μηνῶν τε ὁ ἔβδοςμος, κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐορτῶν ἔλαχε τὴν μεγίστην *^m.—The usage of Josephusⁿ, and the similar usage of the Rabbinical writers^o, *a posteriori*, confirm the supposition. On this principle it would be the feast of Tabernacles, U. C. 802, in the ninth of Claudius, when the events in question happened. The next Passover, which was going on when Quadratus paid a visit to Jerusalem, was consequently the Passover of U. C. 803. the tenth of Claudius.

Now, before he paid this visit, he had already sent the former high priest Ananias, if not also the newly-appointed high priest Jonathan, and the procurator Cumanus, all to Rome ; to answer for themselves before Claudius in common^p: they were sent therefore between the feast of Tabernacles, U. C. 802. and the Passover, U. C. 803. The result was that not only did

* Plutarch, vi. 701. Apophthegmata: τῶν δ' Ἰουδαίων... πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἐορτὴν αἰτησαμένων ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμερῶν ἀνοχάς^{mm}—viii. 669. Symposiaca, iv. 5: τῆς μεγίστης καὶ τελειωτάτης ἐορτῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρὸς, κ', τ. λ. For this reason the feast of Tabernacles in particular is often called, ἀπλῶς, ἡ ἐορτὴ, or simply ἐορτή: of which usage, besides the instances produced from Josephus and the rabbis, we have an example in the Prædicatio Petri, Clemens

Alex. ii. 760. l. 23. Stromatum vi. 5: καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σελήνη φανῇ, σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον· οὔτε νεομηνίαν ἄγουσιν, οὔτε ἄζυμα, οὔτε ἐορτὴν, οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν. We may observe too, here, that in the allusion to the σάββατον, τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, the same mode of mentioning and characterising a particular day, or a particular week, may probably be intended, which is exemplified in St. Luke's use of the phrase δευτερόπρωτον.

^m Ant. Jud. xv. iii. 3. viii. iv. 1. Philo, Operum ii. 286. l. 26. De Septenario et Festis Diebus. ^{mm} Cf. Ant. Jud. xiii. viii. 2. which shews the time and occasion of the above allusion. ⁿ Ant. xiii. xiii. 5. Bell. i. iv. 3. Ant. xiv. xi. 5. 3, 4. Bell. i. xi. 6. Ant. xx. ix. 3. Bell. i. xxii. 2. ^o Maimonides, De Edificio Templi, i. 16. Annot. De Sacris Solemnibus, ii. 4. Annot. De jurejurando, i. Annot. ^p Ant. xx. vi. 2. Bell. ii. xii. 6.

the Jews obtain a favourable hearing from the emperor, but Jonathan, by his personal intercession, is said to have got Felix the appointment to the procuratorship in the room of Cumanus ^q. If so, he would be appointed in the tenth of Claudius, U. C. 803. from which time to U. C. 809. in the second of Nero, he would have been six years in office ; a longer period than had fallen to the lot of any governor since Gratus or Pilate ; and perhaps to be attributed in part to the influence of his brother Pallas (through Agrippina) with Claudius.

VI. Drusilla was now the wife of Felix. Drusilla was one of the daughters of Herod Agrippa and Cyprus, and consequently was by both her parents a Jewess ; and at the time of her father's death, U. C. 796. she is said to have been six years old ^r : in the thirteenth of Claudius, U. C. 806. ten years after, she was married to Azizus king of Emesa ; who, however, died U. C. 807. or U. C. 808. in the first of Nero ^s : and even before his death Drusilla had been persuaded to leave him, and to marry Felix ^s ; to whom she continued united until U. C. 832^t. in the reign of Titus, when both she, and a son whom she had borne him, perished in the eruption of mount Vesuvius. Suetonius, in allusion to this marriage among others, calls Felix, *Trium reginarum maritum* ^u. It is certain then that he and Drusilla were living together in marriage in the second of Nero, U. C. 809.

VII. St. Paul had not been in Jerusalem for some years before this time^v. When he last was there, it was, as I shall prove hereafter, U. C. 805. at the Passover in the twelfth of Claudius ; from whence to the Pentecost in the second of Nero, there would be four years' and two months' interval : and he came now, as we

^q Ant. xx. vi. 3. Bell. ii. xii. 7. Ant. xx. viii. 5. ^r Ant. xix. ix. 1. ^s xx. viii. 4. vii. 1, 2. ^t Dio, lxvi. 21. 24. 26. 18. ^u Claudius, 28. ^v Acts xxiv. 17.

shall also see, charged with the contributions of the churches of Asia Minor, and of Achaia, towards the necessities of the church of Jerusalem; that is, of his nation.

VIII. Felix, who left Paul in confinement behind him with a view to conciliate the Jews^w, had some reason for wishing to oblige them: the dispute about Cæsarea, in which he took so decided a part against the Jewish inhabitants and in behalf of the Greeks, and when so many lives were lost; must have happened in the fourth year of Nero, and in the last year of his administration^x.

IX. When Paul was tried before Festus, Ishmael had been some time appointed; and was certainly the acting high priest. And it is observable that this high priest, whosoever he was, is no longer called the high priest Ananias, as he had been repeatedly before^y; but simply the high priest^z. Yet Festus speaks still of the high priests^z, as if there were more than one of them; and this also would literally be the case; since, though Ishmael might be the titular and acting high priest, Ananias might yet be his vicar, and the next in dignity to him. He is called high priest by Josephus, even after the appointment of Jesus, the son of Darnæus^a; and he is still so called, even when Paul's prophecy against him was accomplished, in his being assassinated by the partisans of Manahem, at the outset of the Jewish war^a. Nor must he be here confounded with the younger Ananus; whose death is also mentioned, but at a later period and in a different way^b.

I have said nothing hitherto concerning the discre-

^w Acts xxiv. 27. ^x Ant. Jud. xx. viii. 7. Bell. ii. xiii. 7. ^y Acts xxiii. 2. xxiv. 1. ^z xxv. 2. Cf. xxv. 15. ^a Ant. xx. ix. 1, 2. Bell. ii. xvii. 9. Acts xxiii. 3.
^b Bell. iv. v. 1, 2. iv. iii. 9. 7.

pancy respecting the successive administrations of Cumanus and of Felix, which exists between the accounts of Josephus and those of Tacitus; because, however great this discrepancy may be, it is unquestionable that a Jewish historian is more entitled to credit, in relation to the affairs of Judæa, than a Roman: nor is this the only instance where Tacitus may be convicted either of a want of correct information, or a culpable haste and inaccuracy, with reference to Judæa in particular. But as to Josephus—in this portion of his history he must have written in some degree from personal observation; for he was thirteen or fourteen years old in the tenth of Claudius; and if we may believe his own account of himself, was so forward in intellectual proficiency, that even at that age the doctors of the Law used to consult him on difficult questions^c.

The discrepancy after all is not an insuperable one. Tacitus attests that Quadratus was Prefect of Syria not only before or in the eleventh of Claudius, but after it; and that in the twelfth Felix was governor of Judæa, and had been *Pridem inpositus**^d. The coins of Quadratus, still extant, begin only from U. C. 808.^e at which time it is certain he had been long in office. I should conjecture that he was appointed in the ninth

* When Felix is spoken of as *pridem Judææ inpositus*, soon after the beginning of U. C. 805, it must imply that he had been appointed a year or two before; not later perhaps than U. C. 803.

But Tacitus betrays his inaccuracy on these points, where he talks of the Galilæans being subject to Cumanus, and the

Samaritans to Felix, as if they were the complex of the nation. For, on this principle, who was procurator of Judæa as such?

He does the same, *Historiæ*, v. 9, where he confounds Drusilla, the daughter of Herod Agrippa, with Drusilla, a granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra: unless, indeed, Felix was married at the same time to both.

^c Vita, 2.

^d Annales, xii. 45. 54. xiv. 26.

^e Eckhel, iii. 280.

of Claudius, U. C. 802 ; and that he had not long been come into the province when the Jewish and Samaritan deputies, in consequence of the dispute of the two nations, had their audience of him at Tyre. His predecessor, Cassius Longinus, had succeeded to Vibius Marsus after the death of Herod Agrippa, U. C. 796 : and one of his coins proves *him* to have been in office U. C. 798. at least^f. Hence he might well be superseded in U. C. 802. Nor is this supposition inconsistent with the testimony of Tacitus^g ; who makes Cassius still president of Syria, when Meherdates was sent from Rome to be placed on the throne of Parthia, U. C. 802 : and Cassius to be the person who conducted him to the banks of the Euphrates. It appears from the account that this service was performed by the midsummer of that year ; so that it was possible for Cassius to be superseded in the ensuing autumn.

Now it is not improbable that, when Cumanus was appointed in the eighth of Claudius, U. C. 801, (the very year before Claudius, a few days after December the 29th, celebrated his marriage with Agrippina^h, whom the influence of Pallas had raised to that dignity above her rivals ;) or early in the next year, Felix also was sent out in some coordinate capacity ; and that the high priest, Jonathan, who is said to have personally solicited his appointment to the procuratorship after Cumanus, U. C. 803, first became acquainted with him in Judæa ; and not at Rome.

Be this however as it may, the two historians are agreed upon the main facts ; that the Galilæans had gone to war with the Samaritans ; that Roman soldiers

^f Eckhel, iii. 280. ^g Annales, xii. 11, 12. It appears from this account, that Meherdates must have been sent from Rome early, U. C. 802 : have been conducted by Cassius to the Euphrates, about midsummer, the same year ; and have entered Armenia in the autumn of that, or in the winter quarter of the next year.

^h Tacitus, Annales, xii. 5. 8. Suetonius, Claudius, 28, 29.

had been killed ; that Quadratus was presiding governor of Syria ; that he had authority to try the Jewish procurator himself ; that Felix was or might be present at the trial of Cumanus ; and that all these things might happen about the ninth of Claudius : while Josephus in particular will shew that the agitation in the province could not have been finally quelled ; and that partly by the punishment of the most turbulent among the Jews, and partly by that of the Roman tribune Celer ; before the tenthⁱ.

Suetonius, by placing the appointment of Felix over Judæa after the adoption of Nero, is so far in favour of Josephus^k ; for it is the practice of this biographer, though he does not relate the whole of any life in historical order, yet to relate such portions of it as he classes together, in the order in which they followed each other. Nero was adopted by Claudius, according to Tacitus, U. C. 803. *ineunte*^l ; according to Suetonius, in the eleventh year of his age ; which eleventh year was completed December the fifteenth, U. C. 801.^m This would fix the time of his adoption to U. C. 802. *ineunte*, when he had entered on his twelfth year, at the latest ; so that on this point Tacitus is at variance with Suetonius ; and yet that Suetonius is more in the right may be proved from Tacitus himself.

At the time of this adoption Nero was committed to the tuition of Seneca^{mm} ; and to this tuition he had been committed fourteen years in the eighth of Neroⁿ ; that is, between October 13, U. C. 814, and October 13, U. C. 815. This might be the case, if the first year of the tuition was U. C. 801. *exeunte*, or 802. *ineunte* ;

ⁱ Ant. xx. vi. 2, 3. Bell. ii. xii. 3—7.

^k Claudius, 27, 28.

^l Annales,

xii. 25. ^m Nero, 7. 6. Cf. Capitolinus, Vêrus Imperator, 1.

^{mm} Nero, 7. 6.

ⁿ Annales, xiv. 53.

but not if it was U. C. 803.* Nero then must have been adopted in the ninth of Claudius at the latest; and consequently Felix, who was appointed to Judæa after his adoption, might be appointed in the tenth; but could not be before it.

The second of the points of time, which we originally proposed to consider, is not less critical than the first: on the contrary, after what has been already established, it will be found perhaps to be more so.

When St. Paul upon leaving Athens was arrived, for the first time, at Corinth; he met there with Aquila and Priscilla, who were recently come from Italy, because Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome^o. I have shewn elsewhere^p that, in almost every instance of a journey from Italy to Asia, Corinth was the regular thoroughfare: and if Aquila was a native of Pontus, it is probable that he was returning to Asia; a conjecture, which is so far confirmed by the subsequent course of events, that it appears he left Corinth at the same time with St. Paul, and afterwards settled at Ephesus^q. Nor had he long been arrived at Corinth when St. Paul also came thither; nor consequently had the decree of Claudius, by which the Jews were expelled from Rome or Italy, been long in force.

Now a great number of Jews, most of them *libertini generis*; that is, the descendants of such as, having originally been brought to Rome in the capacity of slaves, had recovered their freedom; were living there in the time of Augustus and of Tiberius, and even

* Tacitus, it is true, speaks of Seneca's being appointed preceptor to Nero at the time of the marriage of Agrippina and Claudius, which was the beginning of U. C. 802. It would be *fourteen* years current from this time, any time after the beginning of U. C. 815.

^o Acts xviii. 1, 2. ^p Dissertation ii. vol. i. 109. ^q Acts xviii. 18, 19, 24, 26.

before that; in the quarter called Trans Tiberim^r: eight thousand concurred in the petition against Archelaus, which was sent from the mother country, U. C. 751^s; four thousand were transported to Sardinia, U. C. 772^t; and at the beginning of the reign of Claudius their numbers were become so considerable, that it was not thought safe or practicable to expel them the city, though they were forbidden to assemble together^u *. This being the case, it becomes presumptively an argument that they would not be expressly driven from Rome at any subsequent period, except for some great and urgent reason; and that they were so expelled some time in the reign of Claudius is attested in general by Suetonius, as well as by St. Luke^v; though he may have mistaken the cause, or assigned it only in part, when he ascribes it to their constant disturbances, *impulsore Chresto*; for Christianity, as we have seen^w, had certainly reached Rome early in the reign of Claudius; and even in the time of Lactantius, Chrestus was still a common mistake of pronunciation for Christus^x †.

* Dio, xxxvii. 9. records a similar expulsion of all *strangers* from Rome, U. C. 689, because of the increase of their numbers.

† That the confusion of Chrestus and Christus was a very early and a very common *misnomer*, is proved by the following passages:

Theophilus ad Autolyceum, i. 17: *περὶ δὲ τοῦ σε καταγελᾶν μου, καλοῦντά με Χριστιανόν, οὐκ οἶδας δὲ λέγεις: πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τὸ χρηστόν ἥδ' οὐ καὶ εὐχρηστον καὶ ἀκαταγέλαστόν ἐστι.* Clemens Alexandrinus, Operum i. 438. 9:

Stromatum ii. iv: *ἀντίκα οἱ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότες χρηστοὶ τέ εἰσι, καὶ λέγονται.*

Tertullian, Operum v. 12. Apologeticus, 3: *Sed et cum perperam Christianus pronuntiatur a vobis, (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos,) de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est.* Ad Nationes, i. 3. Ibid. 130: *Etiam cum corrupte a vobis Christiani pronuntiamur, (nam ne nominis quidem ipsius liquido certi estis,) sic quoque de suavitate vel bonitate modulatum est.*

^r Philo, ii. 568. l. 24—32. De Virtutibus. Suetonius, Julius, 84. ^s Ant. Jud. xvii. xi. 1. Bell. ii. vi. 1. ^t Ant. xviii. iii. 5. Tacitus, Annales, ii. 85. Suetonius, Tiberius, 36. Dio, lx. 6. ^u Dio, loc. cit. ^v Claudius, 25. ^w Dissertation ii. vol. i. 117. sqq. ^x De Vera Sapientia, iv. 7.

It is a critical coincidence, however, that Suetonius places this expulsion about the same time as the occasion when an embassy of Parthians and Armenians was present in Rome. This embassy, I have little doubt, was the embassy alluded to by Tacitus^y, U. C. 802, when they came to ask for Meherdates. It is placed also about the same time with the restitution of their liberty to the Rhodians, taken away U. C. 797^z; which restitution Tacitus places, U. C. 806^a, but Suetonius, U. C. 804^b, in some consulate of Claudius; which must have been his fifth.

Jerome, in his Commentary on Dan. ix.^c quotes from Apollinarius of Laodicea the following passage: *Postea vero ab octavo Claudii Cæsaris anno, contra Judæos Romana arma correpta—* *Ab octavo* means *after the eighth*, and therefore *in the ninth*; just as, in a like expression of Tertullian's^d, *A duodecimo*, meant *after the twelfth*, and consequently, *in the thirteenth*. Now, from whatsoever authority this statement was derived, it is supported by Orosius^e; who distinctly places the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in the ninth of Claudius: and what is more, it is entirely in unison with the implicit testimony of Josephus. The disturbance at the passover; the subsequent outrage on Stephanus, the emperor's bondman and fiscal procurator; the tumultuary warfare between the Galilæans and the Samaritans; all events of the same year, U. C. 802: were the most natural and most likely causes of this act of severity towards the Jews; whose conduct, as regarded at Rome and until the rupture had been satisfactorily adjusted, partly by the exertions of the Jewish deputies and partly by the intercession of the younger Agrippa; would be looked

^y Annales, xii. 10.

^z Dio, lx. 24.

^a Annales, xii. 58.

^b Nero, 7.

^c Operum iii. 1114. *ad calcem*.

^d Dissertation xiii. vol. i. 457.

^e vii. 6.

on in the light of a direct rebellion. Tacitus expresses himself strongly to this effect; *Arsissetque bello provincia*^f: and Josephus shews that, if actual war was prevented, it was only by the prayers, remonstrances, and entreaties of the rulers or chief Jews themselves; whose efforts and expedients to disarm the infuriated passions of the common people he describes very much to the life^g. Certain it is, that a breach with the Roman government was never so near at any time before the final revolt as now, and in the last year of Caius; and to these two occasions in particular, I am persuaded that our Saviour alluded in the prophecy upon the mount, when he told the disciples that they should *hear of wars and rumours or tidings of wars*, but should see no *actual war*: the storm, once and again, should gather over Judæa as if on the point of bursting upon it; and once and again, as the event proved, it should be seen to pass away without effect, because the end was not to be yet.

The number of the Jewish inhabitants of Rome was certainly too considerable to be tolerated there, with confidence or safety, if the mother country was in a state of revolt. But the news of what had happened in Judæa, especially of what had happened after the feast of Tabernacles; (which in U. C. 802. when the Passover was celebrated on April 5.^h began to be celebrated on September 30;) would not be received in Rome under two or three months afterwards; that is, before December, U. C. 802, or January, U. C. 803. The decree of expulsion might follow soon after this; and in two or three weeks' time subsequently Aquila might arrive at Corinth*; where he had certainly been some

* Polybius, xxvii. 6 (Fragmen- the Acts, it is related that the sub-
ta): upon an occasion like that in jects of Perseus, king of Mace-

^f *Annales*, xii. 54. ^g *Ant.* xx. vi. 1. *Bell.* ii. xii. 5. ^h *Dissertation* vii. vol. i. 332.

time, longer or shorter, before St. Paul came thither. If we place, then, their meeting at Corinth about the spring of U. C. 803, we place it in all probability near the truth.

We have now, as I think, ascertained two dates, the earlier of which fixes the time of St. Paul's first visit to the peninsula of Greece ; and the latter the time of his last visit to Jerusalem, recorded in the Acts. With a view to the detail of intermediate particulars ; I will assume only that he set out on his second general circuit, Acts xv. 36, about the same period in the year as on his first, viz. the Pentecost of U. C. 802, May 26 ; or between that time, and April 5, the date of the preceding Passover. The subsequent course and direction of his journey along the extent of Asia Minor from Antioch, through Syria and Cilicia first ; and by land as far as Alexandria Troas ; and from thence through Macedonia, Thessaly, and Attica, until he came to Corinth ; including the time taken up by his residence in particular places, both those where such residences are not specified, and those where they are, as at Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens : do necessarily require that we should allow the best part of a year for the transaction of every thing, between Acts xv. 36. and xviii. 1 ; though this interval is not too little : for it is clear that St. Paul did not make a practice of staying every where ; and we may infer from the narrative in the Acts, compared also with the Epistles to Philippi and to Thessalonicaⁱ, that he stayed as long in each of those cities as he did any where else ; and yet the length of the stay at the

donia, U. C. 583, were ordered to be gone from Italy *ἐν τριὰ-*
away from Rome instantly, and *κονθ' ἡμέραις.*

ⁱ 1 Thess. i. 6. ii. 9. 2 Thess. iii. 7, 8. Philipp. iv. 16.

latter does not appear to have much exceeded three weeks^{k *}.

In the year of our Lord 44, U. C. 797, in which St. Paul set out on his first circuit, the Passover was celebrated March 31; and the day of Pentecost fell on May 21: and St. Paul's first circuit, as we have assumed, began about that time. Between this time and the Pentecost, May 26, U. C. 802, which we have assumed to be the date of his second circuit, there was just a five years' interval; to be filled up first, by the time occupied on the first circuit before the return to Antioch; that is, between Acts xiii. 4, and xiv. 26: secondly, by the residence at Antioch posterior to the return, but before the beginning of the dispute with the Judaizing teachers; that is, between Acts xiv. 27. and xv. 1: thirdly, by the mission to Jerusalem and the conference there, in consequence of this dispute; viz. between Acts xv. 2, and xv. 29: and fourthly, by the return to Antioch, and the continuance of the residence there, posterior to all the former events, but prior to the commencement of the next general circuit; that is, between Acts xv. 30, and xv. 35. For one and all of these transactions the period of five years is not too long an interval; especially, as independent of the duration of the circuit itself, the residence at Antioch before and after the conference in Jerusalem is either affirmed or implied to have occupied no little time^{l †}.

* Three sabbaths only are mentioned in the account of Paul's residence at Thessalonica; but he might be there a longer time than three weeks in all.

† The details of these five years are of no importance to our

general argument, and so far may be distributed as we please. I cannot help conjecturing however, that the time of the council of Jerusalem, at which the question, whether the Gentile converts to Christianity became

^k Acts xvii. 2.

^l Acts xiv. 28. xv. 35.

The arrival of St. Paul at Corinth, then, within a year after the commencement of his second journey, would be about the spring of U. C. 803; and consequently, in the first quarter of the tenth of Claudius, which began that year on January the 24th. The last places which he visited, and as the course of the history proves, not many weeks before his arrival at Athens, were Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berœa; all which it is to be presumed would be visited U. C. 803: and it is some slight confirmation of this presumption, that the language ascribed to the enemies of Paul, first at Philippi and again at Thessalonica^m, points to a period when Christianity must have pervaded the *world*, which it might be said to have done when it had once reached Rome; and also to the knowledge of some dogma or decree of the existing emperor, hostile to the Jews, and especially binding on Roman citizens: which might be that very edict of Claudius, which he issued about this time, commanding the Jews to leave Rome and Italy: and consequently laying them under a public ban, and forbidding Roman citizens in particular to give them any encouragement.

subject, in consequence of their conversion, to the Law of Moses, or not, was formally discussed and settled; and which was therefore a cardinal period in the progress of the Christian scheme as concerned them; is to be placed U. C. 800, or U. C. 801, exactly at seven years' distance from the time of the conversion of Cornelius. This supposition is manifestly possible; and it derives some support from the language of St. Peter, Acts xv. 7. ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων, which is seen from verse 14—

lower down—in the speech of St. James, to be equivalent simply to τὸ πρῶτον, or at the utmost to ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. The fact alluded to in each instance is clearly the opening of the Gospel to the Gentiles, by the instrumentality of St. Peter in the conversion of Cornelius; and this being spoken of as a somewhat remote event; as what had happened a good while ago, or at first; it is more naturally to be understood of a period of six or seven years, than merely of three or four.

^m Acts xvi. 21. xvii. 6, 7.

It is not a less critical circumstance of coincidence that the first half of the ninth of Claudius, U. C. 802, when St. Paul set out on his second mission, was, as I have proved elsewhere, the close of a sabbatic year; which was always a year of scarcity among the Jews. Nor was it the case with the Jews only, that the ninth of Claudius was a year of dearth; but according to Eusebius in *Chronico*, the same was the case in Greece also. He speaks of a famine in Greece, in the ninth of Claudius, U. C. 802*; when the *modius* or *peck* of corn (*σίτου*) rose to six drachmæ or denarii in price; that is, to six times its usual value. The ordinary price of the modius of bread-corn was one drachma or denarius, and not more. Hence it is, that in the book of Revelations, to express the severity of a dearth, the *choenix* or three half-pints measure of corn alone, (that is, as much as would maintain one man for a day,) is put at a denarius in price; about ten times its usual rateⁿ. There are other occasions in the course of contemporary events, which might be cited from history, as well after as before these times^o, when the price of wheat rose much higher than usual; but scarcely any, under ordinary circumstances, when it seems to have been higher than on this occasion. The use which we may make of the fact in question is as follows.

* The Armenian version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius places this famine apparently Claudii viii. But such is its practice; to place facts *about* a certain time. It is coupled with the mention of another great famine at Rome, which really happened in the *tenth* of Claudius. In

like manner, the fire of Rome, which certainly happened in the *tenth* of Nero, is put by this *Chronicon* in his *ninth*. And so, in various other instances. The *Chronicon* of Jerome, p. 160, places it distinctly in the ninth of Claudius.

ⁿ vi. 6. ^o Josephus mentions one, Ant. xiv. ii. 2. Vide also Polybius, ix. 44: Valerius Max. vii. vi. 6: Eusebius, *Chronicon* Arm. Lat. Ad annum 2024. Augusti 51. Cf. Jerome, *Chronicon*, p. 156: Eusebius, E. H. ix. viii. 355. D.

It might be collected from 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9, alone, that St. Paul came to Corinth at a time of dearth, or when he was likely to want the means of subsistence; nor would he make a merit to the Corinthians of having taken nothing from them, if there was not some particular reason why he should. The same inference seems to be deducible from 1 Thess. ii. 9, and 2 Thess. iii. 8: he *might* have been *grievous* to this church, if he had not purposely abstained from being so. What then are we to conclude? The wants of St. Paul at Corinth were supplied by the brethren who came from Macedonia^p; and the Epistle to the Philip-
pians proves that they were supplied from that part of Macedonia^q. The time when this supply was brought to Corinth was consequently when Silas and Timothy arrived there from Macedonia^r; and they brought it with them from thence.

In like manner, the wants of St. Paul at Thessalonica, as the same Epistle proves^q, were supplied from Philippi also: and though he came to Thessalonica almost on leaving Philippi^s, and though he is said apparently* to have stayed at Thessalonica not more than three weeks, yet even there they had ministered *once and again*, that is, on two several occasions, to his necessities.

St. Paul's arrival at Thessalonica would be early in the winter quarter of U. C. 803, before which time the famine, if there was any such event as the failure of the harvests in the year preceding, would neces-

* I say apparently; for the probability is that he stayed longer. Dr. Paley thinks the *three weeks'* residence specified relates to the time spent there, before St. Paul, as in other places, and especially at Ephesus, ceased to preach to the Jews, and turned to the Gentiles.

sarily have begun to be felt. His arrival at Corinth was early in the spring quarter of the same year; and the coming of the brethren from Macedonia to him there was certainly not long afterwards. Yet in this short time the Philippians, a single church, ministered thrice at least to his wants; twice in Thessalonica and again in Corinth. All this seems to intimate that there was some pressing occasion for so doing: something in the state of the times more likely to stimulate the benevolent zeal of St. Paul's converts than usual: which the fact of a period of scarcity, five or six times as severe as commonly, would explain and illustrate at once*.

The course of events from the time of the arrival in Corinth may be ascertained as follows.

St. Paul had been sometime there, before he ceased to preach to the Jews, and began to preach to the Gentile inhabitants of the city^t: he was there a year and six months longer, even dated from the time of his vision^u, before the insurrection of the Jews in the time of Gallio^v; and he remained there a *good many days* still, even after that^w. It is clear, then, that we cannot compute the whole length of his stay at less than one year, and nine or ten months of another;

* This conclusion is strengthened by the consideration that, for aught which appears to the contrary, from the time of St. Paul's visit to Greece, to the time of his first imprisonment at Rome, these are the only occasions on which even the most attached and most grateful of his converts, the Philippians themselves, are seen to have rendered any such service to him. There was no such occasion until the time of that imprisonment, when

he was likely again to want. Nor can I help conjecturing that the true reason both why this church in particular was so early and so long among those who supplied his pecuniary wants; and why St. Paul consented to be relieved by them, when he made a point of not accepting relief from others; was the friendship between St. Paul and St. Luke, who, as I have shewn elsewhere, was probably an inhabitant of Philippi. See vol. i. 92.

^t Acts xviii. 1—7.

^u Ibid. 8—11.

^v Ibid. 12—17.

^w Ibid. 18.

which, being dated from the spring quarter of U. C. 803, in the tenth of Claudius, will place his departure early in the winter quarter of U. C. 805; in the twelfth of the same reign.

When he had left Corinth and was come to Ephesus, he was on his way to keep some feast^x; concerning which, as it must have been some feast one year and nine or ten months at least distant from the spring quarter of U. C. 803, there can be little doubt that it was the Passover, U. C. 805, in the twelfth of Claudius, which fell that year on April 3: and by an argument from the Epistle to the Galatians hereafter I shall further prove that it was so. Now the length of time necessary for a journey even from Troas to Jerusalem, and even in the summer season; if we make the requisite allowances for such stoppages as would naturally take place by the way; cannot be computed at less than five or six weeks^y, that is, than the interval between Passover and Pentecost: and if so, the length of time necessary for such a journey from Corinth, which was a great deal further distant, and partly in the winter season, when all travelling took up more time; cannot be computed at less than two months. About one month, then, before the Passover, U. C. 805, that is, early in the month of March, St. Paul would be passing through Ephesus, having probably left Corinth early in the February preceding: he would accomplish his purpose by arriving in Jerusalem at the beginning of April: and as he made no stay there, but simply went up and saluted the church, he would consequently return to Antioch between the Passover and the Pentecost of U. C. 805, that is, between April 3, and May 24; about three years from

^x Acts xviii. 21.

^y Acts xx. 6. xx. 16.

April 5, or May 26, when we supposed that he left it last, U.C. 802.

We have said nothing on the controverted point respecting the vow which is mentioned Acts xviii. 18, because I do not think any certain conclusion can be grounded upon it. The grammatical construction requires that *κειράμενος* should be referred to Aquila, and not to St. Paul, as the proper subject of the vow *; and it is probable that the vow itself was the ordinary vow of separation; viz. the Naziræatus—the minimum for which in respect of time was thirty days or one month, but the maximum was indefinite^z. To shave the head, under ordinary circumstances, was to declare the consummation of this vow; and was preparatory to offering the sacrifices which the law required in token of that consummation^a. But here we have Aquila shaving his head at Cenchreæ; whereas the sacrifices could begin or be offered only at Jerusalem.

The doctrine of the Mishna with respect to the Naziræatus is peculiarly complex, and full of nice distinctions. Among other things it is said that it could not be kept any where but in the land of Israel, *Extra terram Israelis*^b; yet we find Aquila keeping it either at Corinth or at Ephesus: where he was left by St. Paul^c. It is true, that the due continuance and completion of the vow might be prevented by accidental pollutions; in which case the Nazarite was required to shave his head, and to begin his computation of

* Such is the grammatical reference given to the word (*κείραμενος*) by Chrysostom, *Œcumenius*, *Theophylact*, &c. (See

Theophylact, iii. 141. A. in *Acta*, xviii. 18: 157. *ad calcem*, in *Acta*, xxi. 24.)

^z Bell. Jud. ii. xv. 1. Mishna, iv. 346. 11. xix. vi. 1.

^b iv. 346. 11. Annott.

^a Acts xxi. 23, 24. Ant. Jud. c Acts xviii. 19.

time afresh. Mere tonsure of the head under such circumstances destroyed the thirty days, but did not oblige to any ceremonial rite^d. This might be Aquila's case. But it is not necessary to suppose that he had made a vow of separation for a month only; he might have made it for a much longer time—called the *Naziræatus magnus*, a separation of sixty days: which would admirably agree to what we have supposed concerning the distance of time before the Pass-over, when Paul left Corinth; viz. about two months; and also account for Aquila's staying at Ephesus, while St. Paul continued his journey to Jerusalem. He would not go up to Jerusalem until the time of his vow was expired.

If we are right as to the time when St. Paul left Corinth, the attempt of the Jews to prosecute him before Gallio was later than the autumn of U. C. 804: whence we may infer that it was in the first year of Gallio's office. It is not necessary for us to trace the history of the province of Achaia, from the time of the partition of the provinces, U. C. 727, when Augustus assigned it to the people, to U. C. 768, when it was resumed by the emperor Tiberius; or to U. C. 797, when it was again restored to the people; or to U. C. 819 or 820, when it was declared independent by Nero; or to U. C. 827 or 828, when, according to the opinion of Eckhel^e, its liberty was abolished by Vespasian*. Nor is it necessary to prove that, though two only of the twelve popular provinces^f, viz. Asia Pro-

* If Philostratus, indeed, (*Vita Apollonii*, v. 14. 252. D. 253. A.) is to be believed, Achaia was deprived of its liberty much earlier; viz. U. C. 823. Vide

Plutarch, *Flamininus*, 12: Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 8: Pausanias, vii. 17. §. 2. Prosper, in *Chronico*, 706, dates its deprivation U. C. 829.

^d Mishna, iii. 164. 3. 165. 5.
ad Vespasiani v.

^e vi. 332. Cf. Jerome, in *Chronico*, p. 163.
^f Strabo, xvii. 3. §. 25. 707.

per and Africa, were strictly proconsular; yet the governors of the remaining ten, who were of prætorian dignity, bore the title of proconsul officially. To this fact a cloud of historical witnesses might be produced, and it is eminently true of the governors of Achaia* and of Cyprus, to each of whom St. Luke has applied that title ‡.

It is very probable from one of the Epistles of Seneca, that his brother Gallio, whom he calls *Dominum suum*; either because he was his elder brother, or in consequence of his having served the office of prætor or consul before that Epistle was written; was sometime governor of Achaia^h: *Illud mihi in ore erat domini mei Gallionis: qui quum in Achaia febrem habere cœpisset, protinus navem adscendit, clamitans, non corporis esse, sed loci morbum.*

If it is reasonable to assume that this was in the autumn, and that he was leaving his government, it might be in the autumn of U. C. 805; but not the autumn of U. C. 804. Paul might have been tried before him after the latter; but he could not have been so after the former. Moreover, Corinth was the capital of the pro-

* Lucian, *Operum* ii. 382. *Demonax*, 16: καὶ ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθύπατον λέγειν· ὁ δὲ Δημόναξ, Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, ἄνδρες, πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἱατρόν. This is meant of the governor of Achaia, at the time. In like manner, Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* xlvii. 232. §. 15, speaks of the governor of Bithynia by the same title. Cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, xvi. 18.

The governor of Achaia is thus described in an extract from *Demonstratus* Λόγοι ἀλιευτικοί, quoted by Ælian, *De Natura Animalium*, xiii. 21: τῶν δὲ τις τῶν

ἐκ βουλῆς ἀρμοζόντων κλήρω τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πεπιστευμένων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνὸς ἔτους, κ, τ. λ. He still retained the title of Ἀνθύπατος in the reign of Julian, Valentinian, and Arcadius. See Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 7, p. 305: Zosimus, iv. p. 202. v. p. 292. Confer Eunapius, *De Vitis Sophistarum*, Julianus, 69—73, in the account of the trial before the proconsul of Greece, at Athens, there related. The time of this fact would be about the end of the third century. See likewise, *ibid.* Proæresius, p. 80—84.

‡ Eckhel, iv. 237. 241. Acts xiii. 7, 8. 12. xviii. 12.

^h Epistolæ, 104. §. 1.

vince, and the proconsul's place of residence; and Gallio was there when St. Paul was brought before him; which also implies that he was brought before him after or in the autumnal quarter of U. C. 804: for we shall see hereafter that, from the commencement of the spring quarter, the governors of provinces were not to be found stationary in the seat of the proconsular government, but were employed in making the circuit of their provinces, and administering justice elsewhere. There can be little question that Gallio was serving Achaia as prætor: into possession of which province he might come three or four years after his year of office: and as his brother Seneca was made tutor to Nero, U. C. 802, it is nothing improbable that he might have been admitted to the prætorship even before that. The number of prætors in the reign of Claudius annually was never less than ten, and sometimes as many as eighteen*.

* Dio, lx. 25, asserts that Claudius strictly enforced the rule of not allowing any one to serve in the government of a province abroad, until some time after the expiration of his year of office at home. But he did not begin to do so before U. C. 798.

It appears from the *Consolatio ad Helviam*, xvi. 12, which Seneca wrote about U. C. 795, during his banishment; that Novatus, afterwards called Gallio, his brother, had already embarked on public life, and had already attained to honours: *Alter honores industria consecutus est*: which probably denotes some curule office. Seneca himself had previously attained to the quæstorship, *Ibid.* xvii. 1: and, according to Tacitus, xii. 8, he obtained the prætorship in the year of his recall

from banishment, U. C. 802. Gallio, as the eldest of the family, and as having been the first to engage in active life, seems to have taken the lead in the career of honours. Both he and Seneca are spoken of as *consulares*, that is, persons who had been some time consuls, before the period of their death, U. C. 818: Tacitus, *Annales*, xvi. 17. The former accordingly appears in the *Fasti*, as consul suffectus, U. C. 807, at the very beginning of the reign of Nero; and the latter *ex Kal. Jul.* U. C. 815. The observation of Ausonius, therefore, *Dives Seneca, nec tamen consul*, is not true, except as meaning that he was never consul *ordinarius*, or ἐπὶ νόμος. It may be to Gallio that Pliny alludes, *H. N.* xxxi. 33: *Sicut proxime Annæum Gallionem fe-*

The length of the stay at Antioch is not specified except in general terms; which may lead to the inference that it was not considerable: yet we have shewn elsewhereⁱ, that it was sufficiently long to allow for the coming thither of Peter from Jerusalem, and for the arrival of certain persons from James, while both he and St. Paul were still there together. It is probable, therefore, that the latter would not set out on his visit to the churches of Galatia and of Phrygia^k; that is, upon that circuit of the upper regions, which ended in his finally settling at Ephesus; before the midsummer of this year at least. For that journey, therefore, beginning with Antioch, but embracing the tour of Asia as far as the Euxine sea, and possibly even as the Hellespont, we cannot allow much less than six or seven months. I assume, then, that Paul did not come to Ephesus, and settle there, agreeably to his promise the preceding year^l, before the beginning of the thirteenth of Claudius, U. C. 806.

After this arrival, three months were spent before the separation of the disciples, when Paul began to dispute daily in the *schola* of one Tyrannus; and two years more posterior to that, before the formation of

cisse post consulatum meminimus, if the terms, sicut proxime, will bear to be referred so far back as U. C. 807, whereas Pliny was writing U. C. 829 or 830. Otherwise the allusion must be understood of some contemporary of Pliny's; perhaps another son of Annæus Mella; just as, Dio, lxii. 29, Annæus Cornutus the philosopher is mentioned apparently as standing in that relation to him, as much as Lucan the poet.

The Scholiast on Juvenal, v. 109, says, Seneca was recall-

ed from banishment *post triennium*: which, if he was banished U. C. 794, would be U. C. 797. This may be a doubtful point. But it is very possible that Gallio might become prætor some years before his brother, even U. C. 796: in which case supposing the same rule to have applied to the prætors which we shewed vol. iii. 594, to apply to the consuls, his year of office for Achaia would coincide with U. C. 804, as the narrative in the Acts supposes.

ⁱ Dissertation ii. Vol. i. 110.

^k Acts xviii. 23. xix. 1.

^l Ibid. xviii. 21.

the design to return through Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem, preparatory to a journey to Rome: and even after this, St. Paul himself still remained somewhat longer in Asia, though he had sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia: until at last the disturbance excited in Ephesus by Demetrius, whether earlier or not than he had always intended, rendered it necessary or expedient for him to leave it ^m.

In this account then of the residence at Ephesus, there is a positive reckoning of two years and three months, which brings us from the beginning of the thirteenth of Claudius, U. C. 806, to the beginning of the spring quarter of U. C. 808, the middle of the first of Nero; and an indefinite reckoning of some time more, the length of which must be otherwise determined. The entire duration of his residence is stated by St. Paul himself, in his farewell address to the elders of the Ephesian church when they met him at Miletus, as a *τριετία*, or period of three yearsⁿ; which being understood, as it may be, of current years, and not necessarily of complete, will determine it to be more than two years but less than three: and I shall shew hereafter, by a comparison with the Epistles, that the two years and three months above specified terminated at or before a Passover at least; and that the stay of St. Paul, even after that, extended to or beyond the ensuing Pentecost: which makes the whole length of his residence in Ephesus, from first to last, a period of two years and more than six months. This conclusion may be confirmed even by what passed in the city, immediately before his departure.

In the speech of the townclerk, the *γραμματεὺς*, scribe, or recorder of the city, we meet with the phrase, *ἀγόραιοι ἄγονται, καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν*^o. The Greek

^m Acts xix. 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, 23—41. ^{xx} 1.

ⁿ Ibid. ^{xx} 31.

^o Ibid. ^{xix} 38.

phrase, ἀγοραίους (scilicet ἡμέρας) ἄγειν, is analogous to the Latin, *forum agere*, or *conventum agere*^p, and to our own of *holding an assize or court*. It occurs ῥητῶς in a rescript of Publius Servilius Galba preserved by Josephus; and what is almost the same, τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιεῖσθαι, is to be met with in Strabo^q; from the comparison of which two passages together it seems to be requisite that we should correct ἄγοντι τὸν ἀγόραιοιν, in Josephus, by ἄγοντι τὴν ἀγόραιοιν^{*}. Now we may infer from Strabo^r, (and the supposition itself is but reasonable,) that the governors of particular provinces, though they had one stated place of residence, which was the metropolis or principal city of the province, were accustomed to travel up and down, during a certain part of the year, and to hold these courts, or ἀγοραίους, in other quarters besides the metropolis. For this purpose, a country was divided into διοικήσεις—which would so far answer to shires or counties—and one court, *forum, conventus*, ἀγορὰ or ἀγόραιοι, was commonly held for the inhabitants of every διοίκησις, at some principal city within the diocese; which would therefore answer to the assize court for the shire or county, in the county town^s. We may infer also, from Cicero, *locis citatis*, that the times of these annual circuits were from the spring to

* Suidas: 'Αγόραιοι· ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ ἡ ἀγορὰ τελεῖται—Aristides, xxvi. 524, 525: μετὰ ταῦτα Σεβήρος μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθεν χωρίων εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον κατῆι, δικῶν ἀγορὰν ἄγων—Ibid. 532. l. 24: ἀγορὰ δ' ἦν δικῶν (at Pergamus)—Dio Chrysostom, xxxv. 69. §. 40. 45: πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις αἱ δίκαι κατ' ἔτος ἄγονται παρ' ὑμῖν (at Celænæ in Phrygia)—Ibid.

§. 15: τοιγαροῦν μέγιστον νομίζω πρὸς ἰσχὺν πόλεως τὸ τῶν δικῶν· καὶ πάντες ἐσπουδάκασιν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς οὕτω. μέτεστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς πρώταις πόλεσιν ἐν μέρει παρ' ἔτος. Cf. Oratio xl. 163. §. 40: 175. §. 35—Philostratus, Apollonius, i. 9. 14. B.: ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἄρα ἀγορὰν ἤγεν, (sc. ὁ ἄρχων τῆς Κιλικίας.)

^p Cicero, Ad Atticum, v. 21. vi. 2. Ad Fam. iii. 6. Suetonius, Julius, 30. 56.
^q Ant. Jud. xiv. x. 21. Strabo, xiii. 4. §. 12. 480. ^r iii. 2. 446. ^s Pliny, H. N. iii. 1—4. 25. v. 29—33.

the summer quarter of the year^t: that is, from March to May or June: after which period, consequently, it was to be expected that the regular governor would not be found in his regular place of residence, but elsewhere*.

Ephesus was certainly the metropolitan city of the province of Asia; though that province, if Josephus and Philostratus are to be believed, contained five hundred cities^u: nor was it without reason that it claimed to itself the title of *Πρώτη*, or Princeps, which is so frequently to be met with upon its coins^v. The privilege of the *κατάπλους*, that is, the right of receiving the proconsul upon his entry by sea into his government, in their city first, was conceded to the Ephesians by law^w. The ordinary place of the proconsul's residence was consequently Ephesus: but after the month of February or March, it is probable he would not be found even there. Servilius was holding a court at Tralles, when he issued the edict before quoted; and

* Cicero, *In Verrem Actio* 2^{da}, lib. v. 12: Cum vero æstas summa esse jam cœperat, quod tempus omnes Siciliæ semper prætores in itineribus consumere consueverunt, propterea quod tum putant obeundam esse maxime provinciam cum in areis frumenta sunt, quod et familiæ congregantur, et magnitudo servitii perspicitur, et labor operis maxime offenditur, et frumenti copia commonet, tempus anni non impedit, &c.

Unless these reasons were peculiar to Sicily, the most common time of these annual cir-

cuits would be critically that when the corn was threshed: which for the meridian of Ephesus would be May or June.

Galba was holding one of these *conventus* at New Carthage, when he heard of the revolt of Gaul: Suetonius, Galba, 9. Nero heard of the same revolt at Naples, on the anniversary of his mother's murder; viz. about March 20: Suetonius, Vita, 40, 34. Galba, then, was engaged on the *conventus* in question at the end of March or the beginning of April.

^t Vide also Suetonius, Julius, 7. ^u Ant. Jud. xiv. x. 11. Bell. ii. xvi. 4. p. 478. Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 547. C. Herodes Atticus. ^v Eckhel, ii. 521. iv. 282. ^w Ibid. ii. 518. In an epigram of Antipater of Sidon, the subject of which is the temple of Diana at Ephesus, he speaks of Ephesus as *θεῶν βασιλειαν Ἰώνων* in his time. And his time was later than the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, B. C. 136. See Anthologia, ii. 16. xxxvi. and 20. L.

Julus Antonius was doing the same at Ephesus not later than the ides of February, when he issued that which on another occasion also is recited by Josephus ^x.

Now the language of the townclerk implies neither that any courts of law were then open, nor any proconsul was then on the spot; but quite the contrary. His words should be rendered, There are courts held, and there are proconsuls. Had he intended to say the courts were open and the proconsul was present; this would have required αἱ ἀγόραι ἄγονται, καὶ ὁ ἀνθύπατος πᾶρεστιν. He asserts therefore merely what was commonly the *practice*; but not what was *then* going on. Nor, if he had meant that the proconsul was on the spot, and not simply that there were such persons as proconsuls; would he have expressed himself in the indefinite manner, ἀνθύπατοί εἰσι: for proconsular Asia including Ephesus was never governed by more than one such deputy at a time*. And though, as the title of an office, the name of Γραμματεὺς is recognised upon the coins of Ephesus ^y, and consequently the office itself is proved not only to have been an actual one, but one of dignity and authority, something like that of the first civil magistrate among them †; still had the supreme

* Much difficulty has been raised, in consequence of this allusion to proconsuls or deputies in the plural number; all which vanishes at once on the right construction of the passage.

† The γραμματεὺς of Ephesus was doubtless a much more important person in that city, than any of the three public officers at Athens, described under that name by Pollux, Onomasticon, viii. cap. 9, §. 11. Cf. Suidas,

in Γραμματεὺς. The title occurs on a variety of ancient coins; which proves it to have been an office of dignity and importance. Artemidorus, himself an Ephesian, observes in reference to a certain description of dreams, Oneirocritica, ii. 31: γραμματεύειν δὲ δοκεῖν... διὰ τὸ προάγειν τὸν γραμματέα. According to Strabo, viii. 8. §. 3. 296: one γραμματεὺς and two στρατηγοὶ were the original directors appointed

^x Ant. xvi. vi. 7.

^y Eckhel, ii. 519.

Roman governor been in the city at the time, it is not likely that the duty of quelling the disturbance, or of dismissing the assembly, (which Acts xix. 39, 40. demonstrates to have taken place at an irregular time, and not on one of the stated days of such meetings*,) would have been left exclusively to him. When all Ephesus was in an uproar, the Roman governor, it might be presumed, would naturally have interfered. The pro-consul of Asia, at the time of the accession of Nero, was Marcus Junius Silanus; but he had been put to death immediately upon that accession^z; nor can it be said with certainty by whom he was succeeded^a. But this ought to constitute no difficulty; for the province would not be left long without a governor; and Silanus was made away with in a very short time after Oct. 13, the day of the accession of Nero, U. C. 807.

to preside over the Achæan league.

* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that there were stated times for all such meetings as were held in the ordinary course of things: and though extraordinary meetings might be summoned upon emergencies by the proper authorities, yet that such concourses as these were tumultuous and irregular. At Athens, the νόμοι or κύρια ἐκκλησίαι were held on the eleventh, the twentieth, and the thirtieth of the month. Vide Suidas, in Ἐκκλησία Κυρία, in Κυρία, and in Σύγκλητος Ἐκκλησία: the Scholia on Aristophanes, Acharnenses, 19: and the note of Kuster, in Suidam, *loco citato*. Suetonius, Augustus, 35. by an appointment of Augustus,

a legitimus senatus could be held only on the Kalends and Ides of every month. The remark of the townclerk (v. 40y) is very natural and appropriate: and may recall to the minds of some of my readers, the pithy advice of an ancient orator, Cephisodotus, addressed under similar circumstances to an Athenian mob; μή πολλὰς ποιήσωσι τὰς συνδρομὰς ἐκκλησίας: Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, iii. 10. Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* xlviii. 236. *ad principium*.

Aristides, *Oratio* xxvi. 531. l. 5: ἱσταμένου δὲ τοῦ ἔτους καὶ γιγνομένης ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης—whence it appears that, at Smyrna in particular, one of the times of an ordinary public meeting was, as we may infer, new year's day; which at Smyrna would be Sept. 24.

y I will just observe here, that there is an ellipsis in this verse after *σήμερον*, viz. *ἐκκλησίας*, which the received translation has overlooked. The words in full would be, ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως, περὶ τῆς σήμερον ἐκκλησίας. ^z Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 11. Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 1. Dio, lxi. 6.

^a Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 33.

It is observable also that, in the same speech, the epithet of *νεωκόρος* is applied to the city of Ephesus^b; and this title so expressed begins to appear on the coins of Ephesus first in the reign of Nero^c *. In the course of time afterwards it came to designate itself *δῖς*, *τρὶς*, and even *τετράκις νεωκόρον*. It is apparent likewise that the time, when this uproar took place at Ephesus, was some time when the Asiarchs were assembled in that city^d. This name is descriptive of an office which was annual and elective, and of a body of men returned by a number of cities^e, though probably not more than one was returned for each; the purpose of whose appointment being purely religious, and especially connected with the annual solemnities in honour of the Ephesian Diana, they would not be found collected in Ephesus, except at a time when those solemnities were going on^f †. The existence of games called

* Since, however, these coins do not yet represent Nero as Augustus, they must have been struck in the reign of Claudius. *Νεωκόρος* is properly *ὁ τὸν ναὸν κορῶν*, id est *σαρῶν*. *κορεῖν γὰρ τὸ σαίρειν παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς*. Vide Suidas, *Ζάκορος*. Ion is introduced at the beginning of the play of Euripides, so called, performing this duty, in the capacity of *νεωκόρος*, for the temple at Delphi; that is, sweeping it, and sprinkling it with water. In its general sense, however, the word might be defined, as it is by Suidas elsewhere, vide *Κόρη*, *Νεωκόρος δὲ, οὐχ ὁ σαρῶν τὸν νεῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος αὐτοῦ*. Cf. in *Νεωκόρος*. It answers to warden with us.

† Vitruvius, De Architectura,

ii. 8: *Trallibus, domum regibus Attalicis factam, quæ ad habitandum semper datur ei qui civitatis gerit sacerdotium*. This probably means the Asiarch; especially as Strabo, *loc. cit.*, tells us that some of the citizens of Tralles were sure to be serving the office every year.

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It is observable also that, in the same speech, the epithet of νεωκόρος is applied to the city of Ephesus^b; and this title so expressed begins to appear on the coins of Ephesus first in the reign of Nero^c *. In the course of time afterwards it came to designate itself δῖς, τρις, and even τετρακίς νεωκόρον. It is apparent likewise that the time, when this uproar took place at Ephesus, was some time when the Asiarchs were assembled in that city^d. This name is descriptive of an office which was annual and elective, and of a body of men returned by a number of cities^e, though probably not more than one was returned for each; the purpose of whose appointment being purely religious, and especially connected with the annual solemnities in honour of the Ephesian Diana, they would not be found collected in Ephesus, except at a time when those solemnities were going on^f †. The existence of games called

* Since, however, these coins do not yet represent Nero as Augustus, they must have been struck in the reign of Claudius. Νεωκόρος is properly ὁ τὸν ναὸν κορῶν, id est σαρών. κορεῖν γὰρ τὸ σαίρειν παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς. Vide Suidas, Ζάκορος. Ion is introduced at the beginning of the play of Euripides, so called, performing this duty, in the capacity of νεωκόρος, for the temple at Delphi; that is, sweeping it, and sprinkling it with water. In its general sense, however, the word might be defined, as it is by Suidas elsewhere, vide Κόρη, Νεωκόρος δὲ, οὐχ ὁ σαρών τὸν νεῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος αὐτοῦ. Cf. in Νεωκόρος. It answers to warden with us.

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MENIKA. from which title we may infer that their proper time synchronised probably with the same part of the year, as the recurrence of the Olympiads; that is, with the first full moon after the summer solstice. This full moon, A. D. 55, U. C. 808, when the moon was eclipsed on July 27, at 5. 30, in the morning, could not fall earlier than June 27, previously: about which time we have shewn that, upon other grounds, it is probable St. Paul was still in Ephesus. To proceed then with the course of our subject.

After the departure of St. Paul from Asia, there is mention made of a residence of his in Macedonia, before the next visit to Greece; and after the arrival in Greece, of a three months' residence there, before the return to Macedonia again; and after this return, of his spending the days of unleavened bread at Philippi, before his departure finally to Troas, upon his way to Jerusalemⁱ. The Passover or Easter spent at Philippi was consequently the Passover next after the departure from Ephesus; that is, just one year from the Passover of U. C. 808, in the first of Nero alluded to above; and therefore was just three years after the first Passover dated with the time of the arrival originally, U. C. 806. It was consequently the Passover of U. C. 809, in the middle of the second of Nero. How the time between that Passover and the departure from Ephesus, U. C. 808, was spent, will appear presently from the Epistles. By the ensuing Pentecost, St. Paul was in Jerusalem: he was consequently in Jerusalem at the Pentecost of U. C. 809: and in U. C. 809, at the Pentecost of that year, in the midsummer of the second of Nero, we have already determined, on other and independent data, that he must have been there.

All these conclusions we may further establish and

ⁱ Acts xx. 2, 3, 6.

place beyond a question, by shewing their agreement with the internal evidence furnished by the Epistles of St. Paul, such as I consider to have been written before this visit to Jerusalem ; which are in my opinion the following six, stated in the order of succession ; the First and the Second to the Thessalonians ; the First and the Second to the Corinthians ; the Epistle to the Romans, or the Epistle to the Galatians. Each of these we will consider in its turn.

I. *On the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.*

It must be evident from those parts of this Epistle which mention the preaching of the Gospel in Macedonia in general, and also at Philippi in particular^k, that it could not have been written before St. Paul's visit to Philippi^l, and to other parts of Macedonia, U. C. 802 ; and from iii. 1, that it could not have been written before his arrival at Athens, even after that^m ; and from i. 1, 7, 8, (compared with 2 Cor. i. 18, 19.) which mentions *Achaia* as well as Macedonia, that it could not have been written before the visit to Corinth, U. C. 803ⁿ, of which it must be superfluous to prove that it was the first, which St. Paul had yet made to the peninsula of Greece.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the *prima facie* evidence of 1 Thess. iii. 1, compared with Acts xvii. 15, 16, which proves that St. Paul both came to, and for a time was left at Athens ; the Epistle could not have been written from Athens : and the allusion in it to his being in Athens would still be true, if he had been there, and had sent Timothy to Thessalonica from thence, though he afterwards wrote the letter in which he speaks of these things from some other place.

^k i. 7, 8. ii. 2.

^l Acts xvi. 12.

^m xvii. 15.

ⁿ xviii. 1.

Now when he was first brought to Athens, he was brought alone; but he sent back a message by those who brought him, to Silas (or Silvanus) and Timothy, whom he had left at Berea, that they should come and join him without delay. We may justly suppose they would comply with this wish; especially as it is said that he waited for them^o. Yet it is not mentioned that they did; on the contrary, they are said to have joined him, only when he was at Corinth^p. In order to reconcile these different intimations together even in the Acts, we should be obliged to suppose that, after rejoining St. Paul at Athens, according to his desire, either Timothy or Silvanus, or both, were sent out by him somewhere again, before his own departure thence, and did not return to him a second time except at Corinth. This is precisely that state of the case which the first Epistle proves to have happened; for Timothy had actually rejoined Paul at Athens, and actually been sent again from thence to Thessalonica, before he himself left it: and Timothy had rejoined him alone; or what is equally probable Silvanus had rejoined him at Athens also, and been sent again to some other quarter, while Timothy was despatched to Thessalonica^q; (otherwise St. Paul could not have said he had thought proper or rather been content to be left at Athens alone;) and Timothy had rejoined him a second time only recently, either at Athens, or if not there at some other place, whither St. Paul had proceeded in his absence; after this very errand to Thessalonica, and before the Epistle was written^r. The same thing is implied of Silvanus; for both Paul, and Silvanus, and Timothy, who are all joined in the salutation at the head of the Epistle^s, must all have been together when it was written.

^o Acts xvii. 16.^p xviii. 5.^q iii. 1, 2.^r iii. 6.^s i. 1.

Now, after Acts xviii. 5, when both these last are said to have come to him at Corinth, it is manifest they would be together in that place at least ; where also it is proved by the Second Epistle to the Corinthians^t that they continued together throughout : and they are there said to have rejoined him from Macedonia generally ; as the Epistle itself proves that Timothy in particular rejoined him from Thessalonica ; which is the same thing. And if we compare all these places with 2 Cor. xi. 9, and Philipp. iv. 15, 16, we shall consider it more than probable that, when Timothy rejoined Paul from Thessalonica, Silvanus also rejoined him from Philippi ; which too would be from Macedonia.

These coincidences place it beyond a question, that the First Epistle to the Thessalonians was written after the arrival of St. Paul at Corinth, and after the return of Timothy and of Silvanus to him there ; and consequently was written from Corinth itself : for there is no proof that St. Paul during this visit preached in any other part of Achaia. Moreover, if 1 Thess. iii. 6, 7, be compared with Acts xviii. 5. xviii. 11, we shall conclude that it must have been written at the very beginning of the visit ; and not at some later period, when the year and nine or ten months, during which we supposed his stay to have lasted, were more or less advanced in their progress. Nor is ii. 18 any objection : for the emphasis laid on the ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος clearly implies that he had wished this *once* or *twice* to rejoin them in *person*, and not merely by a messenger ; and coming between ii. 17, which speaks of a separation πρὸς καιρὸν ὥρας—(that is, a very recent and as it might be supposed about to prove a very brief separation *) and iii. 1, 2, which speaks of the mission

* As indeed it was, if Timothy was sent to them in Paul's stead from Athens, so soon after his departure from Thessalonica.

of Timothy, as the substitute of Paul; it shews that he means some wish which he had formed after his departure from Thessalonica indeed, but *before* his departure from Athens.

We may venture to pronounce, therefore, with confidence, that the First Epistle to the Thessalonians was written from Corinth, U. C. 803, soon after St. Paul's arrival, which we placed about the spring of the year. The time of the first determines presumptively the time of the second; which being written apparently to correct a very important mistake, produced by the first^u, must have been written no long time after it; and, consequently, in U. C. 803. also. In fact, iii. 2. of the Second Epistle may probably allude even to Acts xviii. 6—10. It follows, consequently, that these two Epistles were the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles in general; and there are passages in each of them which might suggest of themselves such a conclusion^v.

II. *On the First Epistle to the Corinthians.*

The First Epistle to the Corinthians was written from Asia^w; that is, from the province of that name in Asia Minor; and it was written from Ephesus in that province^x. It could not therefore be written before the commencement of the residence at Ephesus^y, in the thirteenth of Claudius, U. C. 806.

Again; it could not be written before Apollos had visited and preached at Corinth^z; to which place it is evident that he proceeded from Ephesus^a: nor yet before he was come back again thence to Ephesus^b. Now when Paul first arrived at Ephesus, U. C. 806, he was still at Corinth^c: if so, we may take it for grant-

^u 1 Thess. iv. 13—v. 11. 2 Thess. ii. 1—12. ^v 1 Thess. v. 27. 2 Thess. iii. 14. iii. 17. ^w xvi. 18. ^x xv. 32. xvi. 8. ^y Acts xix. 1. ^z 1 Cor. i. 12. iii. 4, 5, 6. 22. iv. 6. 2 Cor. iii. 1. ^a Acts xviii. 24. 27. ^b 1 Cor. xvi. 12. ^c Acts xix. 1, 2.

ed that the Epistle was not written immediately after St. Paul's arrival, nor until some time in the course of the first year of his residence at least; a conclusion which is impliedly confirmed by 1 Cor. iv. 11—13. compared with Acts xx. 31. 34: for St. Paul must have been some time at Ephesus, if this description of his mode of employment daily was natural and just.

Again; the Epistle was written either at or just before the arrival of the period of the Passover; and before the ensuing Pentecost^d; and it was written after Timothy had been sent to Corinth, and while he was still absent; but when St. Paul was waiting for his return at Ephesus, and for his return in company with others; which implies that others also had been sent with him^e. And that after this Timothy did actually rejoin St. Paul, before he wrote any second Epistle at least, appears from the Second to the Corinthians^f. If then the Epistle was written before the point of time specified at Acts xix. 22, which mentions the fact of a mission of Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia; this mission, as concerns the former, and perhaps as concerns the latter too, must have been a second mission: a conclusion not at variance with the Epistle, nor impossible in the nature of things: and this I believe to have been actually the case.

For first; at a time posterior to the mission of Timothy alluded to in the Epistle, St. Paul had not yet decided upon going up to Jerusalem, much less upon visiting Rome; but before the mission specified in the Acts he had already made up his mind to do both^g.

Secondly; when he wrote the Epistle to the Corinthians, he had not yet determined, though he might

^d 1 Cor. v. 7, 8. xvi. 8. ^e iv. 17. xvi. 12. xvi. 10, 11. ^f 2 Cor. i. 1.
^g 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4. 6. Acts xix. 21.

have given them some reason to expect he would determine, on passing through Macedonia, and so on to Achaia; much less upon making any stay there: but at the time of the mission in the Acts he had decided on doing both ^h.

Thirdly; after the mission of Timothy in the Acts, there is no mention of his rejoining St. Paul either at Ephesus or any where else, before they set out together from Greece to go into Asiaⁱ: which seems to imply that, after that mission, St. Paul rejoined Timothy, and not Timothy St. Paul. And this might easily be the case; for Timothy had been sent into Macedonia, and Paul left Ephesus to go to Macedonia^k; and wrote his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, (as we shall see by and by,) when Timothy was certainly with him, from thence.

Fourthly; St. Paul's original intention was to pass through Corinth into Macedonia, and back from Macedonia to Corinth; and thence to set out for Judæa^l: the plan which he actually adopted was just the reverse of this; passing to Corinth through Macedonia, and back again from Corinth to Macedonia^m.

Fifthly; he had never been at Corinth since his first visitⁿ; yet he tells them that this was the *third* time he was coming or ready to come to them^o; that is, the third time that he had *promised* to come to them. Now there is one such promise here, and another in various places of the First Epistle^p; but there is no instance of a third, unless it was sent by Timothy at the time of the mission specified in the Acts, or at the time of some other mission, such as we are supposing, prior to and distinct from that. And this is much the more probable supposition: for there is no proof in the Acts^q that

^h 1 Cor. xvi. 5. Acts xix. 21, 22. ⁱ Acts xx. 3, 4. ^k xx. 1. ^l 2 Cor. i. 15, 16. ^m Acts xix. 21. xx. 1, 3. ⁿ 2 Cor. i. 15, 23. ii. 1. xiii. 2. ^o 2 Cor. xii. 14. xiii. 1. ^p 1 Cor. iv. 19. xi. 34. xvi. 2, 3, 5. ^q xix. 22.

Timothy was sent any where into Achaia, but there is proof in the Epistle, that he was sent to Corinth; that St. Paul expected he would arrive there; and that he would correct some conception, which had given occasion to the mistaken idea that St. Paul never intended to visit Corinth again^r; and that to rectify this mistake, as well as for other purposes, was one principal motive to his mission itself. And, 1 Cor. xvi. 5. the emphasis laid on *Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχουμαι*, is another presumptive intimation that St. Paul had sent them a message to that effect already; which message some among them perhaps, might affect to disbelieve. Moreover, from 1 Cor. xvi. 10, it appears that Timothy had not been sent long before the Epistle itself was written; and that St. Paul must have considered it possible the Epistle might arrive at Corinth before him.

The drift of all these considerations is to shew that the First to the Corinthians was written before the point of time specified at Acts xix. 22: and consequently before the expiration of the two years' and three months' residence, as mentioned Acts xix. 8. 10. and xix. 21. at least. If it was written therefore about the time of a Passover, it was probably written before the actual arrival of Easter: nor in fact could it have been said with propriety, *ὥστε ἐορτάζωμεν*^s, unless the feast had been still to come.

Now, when he visited Corinth, the writer considers it probable that he might spend a winter there^t; which could not be the winter of the year then current, because it would be later both than the Passover and the Pentecost of that year^u. The Epistle then was written a year at least before the time when this winter was to arrive: and if this winter was that which St.

^r 1 Cor. iv. 17. xvi. 10. iv. 18.
^u Ibid. xvi. 8.

^s Ibid. v. 8.

^t Ibid. xvi. 6.

III. *On the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.*

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians was not written before St. Paul had determined to go himself to Jerusalem, along with the bearers of the contributions of the churches both of Asia and of Macedonia and Achaia; which however he had not determined to do when he wrote the First to the Corinthians^a. It was not written therefore prior to the time when Timothy and Erastus were sent from Ephesus to Macedonia^b; nor consequently, as we may safely presume, prior to the Pentecost, before which St. Paul did not propose to leave Ephesus^c; which we have seen was the Pentecost of U. C. 808, the first of Nero.

Again; it was not written until St. Paul had both departed from Ephesus, and passed through Troas, and come into Macedonia; as in the regular history of the Acts he is supposed to come directly from Asia: and he was still there when it was written^d. Nor was it written until Titus had both been sent to Corinth from Ephesus, after the writing of the First Epistle, and rejoined St. Paul again in Macedonia, subsequent to his departure from Asia; and from Macedonia had once more been sent to Corinth^e. That it was written then from Macedonia, after St. Paul left Ephesus and before he passed into Greece; and consequently sometime between Acts xx. 1. and xx. 3; there can be no question: the only difficulty remaining concerns the

same remark is applicable to later instances of the same kind; as 1 Tim. iv. 7, 8, and 2 Tim. ii. 5. Allusions of this descrip-

tion, among such a people as the Greeks or the Romans, were always in character; whether suggested by the occasion or not.

^a 2 Cor. viii. 19. 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4. ^b Acts xix. 21, 22. ^c 1 Cor. xvi. 8.
^d 2 Cor. i. 8. ii. 12, 13. vii. 5—viii. 1—ix. 2, 4. Acts xx. 1. ^e 2 Cor. vii. 6—
 8—14. viii. 6—16. 17—23.

time, or at what period of the interval, so included, it was actually written.

Now that St. Paul spent some months in Macedonia, preaching the gospel there round about as far even as Illyricum, and exhorting the converts of those parts with many words, before he revisited Greece; appears both from the direct narrative in the Acts, and as we shall see by and by, indirectly from the Epistle to the Romans. The time when he passed into Greece was about three months, or at the utmost four, before the Passover, March 19^f, U.C. 809, in the second of Nero: it is possible, therefore, that the Epistle was not written before the middle of the autumnal quarter of U.C. 808, the beginning of the second of Nero: and this appears to me to have been the case.

For it has been proved that it was after the Pentecost of U. C. 808 that St. Paul left Ephesus; and consequently it must have been in the summer quarter of the year that he came into Macedonia. There must have been some interval, and perhaps one of considerable length, between the sending of the message, or the formation of the design, alluded to i. 15, 16, 17; (which message, as we have rendered it probable, was sent by Timothy at a time not specified in the Acts;) and the writing of the Epistle. It must have been written the best part of a year at least after the collection had begun in Achaia, which is in fact, after the time when the First Epistle was sent^g. It must have been written not long before St. Paul expected that he himself should be in Corinth^h: that is to say, not long before the commencement of the three months' residence there. All these criteria determine its actual time to the last quarter of U. C. 808, and the first quarter of

^f Dissertation vii. vol. i. 333.
ix. 3—5.

^g 2 Cor. viii. 10. ix. 2.

^h 2 Cor.

the second of Nero. And this conclusion being established, I shall point out its accordance with a remarkable note of time, contained in the Epistle itself: the date of the rapture which is stated to have occurred, *πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων*ⁱ, referred to the time of the Epistle, or to the year then current when it was written.

It has been proved heretofore in its proper place, by a multitude of examples, that such notes of duration as these are not to be construed either inclusively or exclusively of both their extremes; but if inclusively of the one, then exclusively of the other, and conversely: upon which principle, the date of the rapture was the fourteenth year before—exclusive of the date of the Epistle; or the date of the Epistle was the fifteenth year subsequently—inclusive of the date of the rapture: and in either case, if the date of the Epistle was U. C. 808, the date of the rapture was U. C. 794. Now, at Acts xxii. 17–21, St. Paul affirms the fact of an ecstasy, the scene of which he places in the temple at Jerusalem, upon occasion of some visit there, which the context alone determines to be the *first* visit after his conversion, when he stayed in Jerusalem only fifteen days^k. The time of this visit was proved to coincide with the Passover of the first of Claudius, U. C. 794, exactly fourteen years before the Passover of the first of Nero, U. C. 808, and fifteen before the Passover of his second, U. C. 809*.

* It would make no difference to the truth of this coincidence, were the scene of the rapture in question supposed not to have been Jerusalem, during this first visit, but somewhere in Cilicia, (whither St. Paul departed,

when he left Jerusalem, and where he continued, until Barnabas brought him to Antioch the next year, U. C. 795,) provided only the date of it was still U. C. 794.

ⁱ 2 Cor. xii. 2.

^k Gal. i. 18. Acts ix. 26—30.

IV. *On the Epistle to the Romans.*

The Epistle to the Romans was written after the First to the Corinthians, and by parity of consequence, as well as for other reasons which will shortly appear, after the Second. For Aquila and Priscilla, when this Epistle was written, were at Rome; but when the First to the Corinthians was written they were at Ephesus^l. The same passage asserts that they had jeopardated their lives for the sake of Paul; which they might be said to have done, after the danger to which they, in common with the rest of St. Paul's companions or fellow-labourers, or perhaps they in particular, had been exposed at the time of the uproar in Ephesus^m: but not, so far as it appears from the history, before that.

Again; it was not written until after the time when St. Paul, having set out from Jerusalem, by his individual ministry had made an end of preaching the gospel round about as far as Illyricumⁿ. Between the departure from Asia and the arrival in Greece, it has been shewn that there was an interval of five or six months; which must have been spent by St. Paul in Macedonia^o. Macedonia was contiguous to Illyricum; and a noble road, branching out from two heads, Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, both upon the Sinus Adriaticus and close upon the borders of Illyricum, stretched eastward right through the country for an extent of five hundred and thirty-five Roman miles; and afforded an easy access to all parts of Macedonia. Its name was the Via Egnatia; and its course is described by Strabo^p. The expression of St. Paul, μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ, does not imply that he had preached in

^l Rom. xvi. 3, 4. ⁱ Cor. xvi. 19. ^m Acts xix. 23. ⁿ Rom. xv. 19.
^o Acts xx. 1, 2. ^p Strabo vii. 7. §. 4. 449—454.

Illyricum itself as yet, but only as far as its borders ; or as we should express ourselves, *up* to it : and this he would necessarily do if, as he is represented in the history, he traversed the whole of Macedonia ; for, beginning at its eastern extremity, by which only he could approach it from Asia, he must thus have proceeded to its western, where it confined upon Illyricum. There is no period in the previous history of St. Paul's travels, during which it was possible for the circuit of Macedonia to have been made ; and in passing thither now, he was merely completing a purpose, which it has been seen that he had formed some time before^q. The Epistle to the Romans then was not written until the circuit of Macedonia was over.

Again ; it could not have been written before the three months' residence subsequently in Greece^r was either completed or drawing to a close ; for it was written when not only the mind of St. Paul had been made up about going to Jerusalem, and the collections for the church of that city, which were still pending when the Second to the Corinthians was written, had now been completed ; but when St. Paul was on the eve of departure ; that is, having no longer room, or occasion for staying, in the parts where he was at the time, was preparing to return to Judæa^s. We may infer then that it must have been written at the close of the three months in question ; and either from Corinth, where the three months were most probably spent, or at least from Cenchreæ : in which case it was certainly written a little before the Passover of U. C. 809. And this conclusion may be confirmed in various ways, as follows :

I. Among the salutations at the end of the Epistle, Erastus the steward, or οἰκονόμος of the city, saluteth

^q Acts xix. 21.

^r xx. 3.

^s Rom. xv. 23. 25, 26. 27—31.

you, is one^t ; and Erastus, as it might be conjectured from Acts xix. 22. and as it must be almost certain from 2 Tim. iv. 20. was either a native, or inhabitant of Corinth ; or both. In the same text Gaius or Caius is spoken of as the host or entertainer of Paul ; and in the First to the Corinthians the name of Gaius is mentioned, as that of a Corinthian convert whom St. Paul had baptized in person^u, along with the name of Crispus ; (whom the Acts shew to have been really an householder of Corinth^v;) and also along with the name of Stephanas, whom a subsequent passage recognises as the first fruits of Achaia^w. There must have been consequently another Gaius, a Corinthian ; besides the Gaius of Macedonia, and the Gaius whom the Acts specify by name as a native or inhabitant of Derbe^x. We may observe also that in the phrase *εὐδόκησαν γὰρ Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα*, and that of *Ἐπαίνετον. . . ὅς ἐστιν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς Χριστόν^y*; this mention of Achaia after Macedonia, or of Achaia *ἀπλῶς* and without Macedonia, is some proof that the writer of the Epistle was himself in Achaia at the time ; and was known to be so by those to whom he wrote.

II. Among such others, besides Erastus and Gaius, as are also specified by name, and take part in the salutations to the Roman church along with St. Paul ; Timothy and Sosipater or Sopater were actually companions of the writer, when he set out from Greece upon his journey into Asia^z. And in addition to these, Jason, whose name also occurs at Rom. xvi. 21, and whom Acts xvii. 5, 6, 7, prove to have lived in Thessalonica ; as well as Aristarchus, whose presence with Paul, and whose relation to that city, are specified at Acts xx. 4 ; might likewise be of the number : especially if, while

^t Rom. xvi. 23. ^u 1 Cor. i. 14. ^v xviii. 8. ^w 1 Cor. i. 16. xvi. 15.
^x xix. 29. xx. 4. ^y Rom xv. 26. xvi. 5. ^z Rom. xvi. 21. Acts xx. 4.

Jason remained at Thessalonica, Aristarchus went on with St. Paul to Asia; and finally accompanied him even to Rome, and remained with him there during his imprisonment to the last ^a.

III. The Epistle was transmitted by Phœbe, a deaconess of the church of Cenchreæ, and one who had personally ministered to St. Paul; which seems to imply that he had lodged at Cenchreæ in her house ^b. If this inference is right, the exact time and place of the Epistle are both presumptively determined by it. It was written when St. Paul was at Cenchreæ, and in the interim between his original purpose of setting out to Syria by sea, and the change of this purpose, in consequence of the conspiracy of the Jews; which determined him on returning by land. And this resolution he executed accordingly; travelling through Macedonia as far as Philippi, and taking ship first on departing from thence. It was written then at the point of time specified at Acts xx. 3. when Paul was preparing ἀνάγεισθαι εἰς τὴν Συρίαν; for which purpose it is morally certain that he would be in Cenchreæ not at Corinth. The discovery of the conspiracy of the Jews, who must have intended to execute their scheme against his life as soon as he had put to sea, was made in time to prevent his departure; and compelled him to retrace his steps.

It is entirely in unison with the alleged date of the Epistle, that the Romans are told St. Paul had longed to come to them for many years before^c; for he might have conceived this desire when he first became acquainted with Aquila and Priscilla, six years previously, U. C. 803. It is equally consistent with the supposition of its place, and with the particular juncture of circumstances under which it was written, that he desires

^a Acts xx. 4. xxvii. 2. Col. iv. 10. Philem. 24. ^b Rom. xvi. 1. ^c xv. 23.

the cooperation of their prayers with his own, in order to be delivered or rescued from the malice of the unbelieving Jews^d; for the conspiracy of their's against his life might only just have come to light when he was writing. Nor is it any objection that mention is made among others of the household of Narcissus, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου^e; though this Narcissus should be considered the same with the celebrated freedman of Claudius, whose death occurred within a month after the accession of Nero; sometime in November, U. C. 807.^f They of his household and ὄντες ἐν Κυρίῳ, who had been, that is, converted to the gospel, might still be described by their relation to Narcissus as before; and ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου no more means of necessity, *those who are now*, than *those who were once*, of the people of Narcissus. There is one more such allusion at verse 10. to persons ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου. I cannot help suspecting that this was Aristobulus, the brother of Herod Agrippa and of Herod of Chalcis; whose death is mentioned by Josephus in conjunction with that of the other two^g in such a manner, as proves that it could not have been later, and probably was somewhat earlier, than the time of the death of the latter; viz. U. C. 801. in the eighth of Claudius. In this case, he also must have been dead U. C. 809.

V. *On the Epistle to the Galatians.*

The date of no Epistle has been more contested, and more variously represented, than that of the Epistle to the Galatians: and though I acknowledge the diffi-

^d xv. 30, 31. ^e xvi. 11. ^f Tacitus, Annales, xiii. 1. Seneca, Ἀποκολοκύντωσις, or Ludus de Morte Claudii Cæsaris, xiii. 1. xi. 4. I consider the above opinion the most probable; though it is to be observed that in some ancient MSS. of the Epistle to the Romans, Narcissus here mentioned was described as a presbyter of the church of Rome, for the time being. See the Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, ascribed to Ambrose, Operum ii. Appendix, 109. C. ^g Bell. ii. xi. 6. He was alive U. C. 793. See Ant. xviii. viii. 4.

culty which exists upon the subject of its determination, still the uncertainty about it is not so great, but that two points may be presumptively established; the first with almost demonstrative conviction, and the second with an high degree of probability: first, that it could not have been written before U. C. 807; and, secondly, that it could not have been written after U. C. 809: the inference from which is that it must have been written U. C. 808, about the same time with the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans; but whether between the two, or before or after them both, it may not be possible, except conjecturally, to ascertain.

I. As the church of Galatia itself was not founded before U. C. 802, the time of the second general circuit of St. Paul^h; it is manifest that no Epistle could have been written to any such church before U. C. 802.

II. The Epistle could not have been written before the time of the visit to Jerusalem, to which the Epistle itself alludes, ii. 1; and the time of this visit the very next verses, ii. 2, 7, ascertain in general as follows. It was the time of some visit to Jerusalem, posterior either to the first or to the second of St. Paul's missions to the Gentiles, at least. I laid before them the Gospel which I am preaching among the Gentiles . . . lest haply I should be running, or had been running, in vain—When they saw that I am entrusted with the Gospel of the Uncircumcision, just as Peter with the Gospel of the Circumcision—these expressions admit of no other construction than that St. Paul's commission to the Gentiles had been both duly received, and duly acted upon already. The visit to Jerusalem, therefore, when this interview with the rest of the apostles there took place, could not possibly be prior to the

^h Acts xvi. 6.

first of St. Paul's circuits among the Gentiles, and it must have been posterior even to his second ; for it was some visit just fourteen years later than the time of the return from Arabia to Damascus, which followed directly upon his conversion, and was the beginning of his ministry in that city.

That the time of this return is the date, to which we are to refer the fourteen years specified Gal. ii. 1, follows both from the reason of the thing ; viz. that St. Paul naturally would refer to the date of his own conversion, and to that of the commencement of his ministry, as the only proper point of time, to which the more memorable and cardinal incidents in the progress of his ministry afterwards ought to be referred ; and also from the analogy of verse 18, of chapter the first. The visit there specified, at the end of three years, is referred to no other date. Now the time of the return to Damascus has been proved to synchronize with about the Passover of the second of Caius, U. C. 791 : the time of a visit then just fourteen years posterior to that must have been the time of some visit about the period of a Passover, U. C. 805 : and this is precisely the time at which, as we have proved already, St. Paul returned to Jerusalem from his first visit (in U. C. 803.) to the peninsula of Greece. The coincidence between these dates, established as they are upon perfectly independent data, places it beyond a question, that the visit upon the occasion recorded in the Acts, at xviii. 22, and the visit referred to in Galatians, at ii. 1, were one and the same.

It makes in favour of the same conclusion, that we might collect from the extraordinary earnestness to attend the approaching feast at Jerusalem, which St. Paul expressed in the Actsⁱ, that he had special rea-

ⁱ xviii. 21.

sons for wishing to be present at it; which reasons the Epistle explains at once, if St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem, ii. 1, 2, was produced by *a revelation*, that is, was undertaken in obedience to some direct command from the Spirit. Nor is it any objection that Barnabas accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem on this occasion; though after their separation, U. C. 802^k, we read no more in the Acts of the former, or of his ever being in company with the latter. It is clear from the account of what passed in Jerusalem, that the object of the attendance of both was something, which intimately concerned them in their character of the Apostles *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* of the Gentiles; in which capacity, even after their separation in the Acts, Barnabas is still acknowledged as the copartner of Paul so late as U. C. 808^l; and is spoken of as still alive, and as we may justly presume still engaged in the same character, and in the same occupation, at the close of St. Paul's first, if not also of his second imprisonment^m. The same revelation then, which enjoined the attendance of St. Paul, as one of the great Apostles of the Gentiles, required, we may suppose, the attendance of Barnabas, as the other also; and both on the same occasion, U. C. 805. The Epistle, then, could not have been written before the time of this attendance.

III. The Epistle could not have been written before the time of the visit of St. Peter to Antiochⁿ; which time we proved elsewhere to have been in the course of the same year as this visit to Jerusalem also^o; not longer perhaps after it, than the interval between the Passover, and the Pentecost ensuing.

IV. The Epistle could not have been written before St. Paul's second visit to Galatia, Acts xviii. 23; when he

^k Acts xv. 36—39. ^l 1 Cor. ix. 6. ^m Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11. ⁿ Gal. ii. 11.
^o Dissertation ii. vol. i. 109. sqq.

proceeded thither from Antioch, in the course of the same year with each of the preceding events, but after them both. The conclusions at which we have already arrived would prove this; but independent of them, it might be deduced from the plain import of Gal. iv. 13, alone: Ye know that in weakness of the flesh did I preach the gospel to you, τὸ πρότερον: which means not simply, *at the first*, but, *the former time*, or *the time before*; and consequently distinctly implies that he had been *twice* in Galatia, but neither more nor less than *twice*, before he wrote the Epistle. This use of τὸ πρότερον here is parallel to that of τὸ δεύτερον, and τὸ πάλιν, 2 Cor. xiii. 2: or of τὸ δεύτερον, Jude 5: or that of τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας, Hebrews x. 32: and to many other instances which might be produced; all referring to one or other of two occasions, but only two, as the subjects of comparison, and each of the same kind. The same reference to a second visit appears, though not with equal clearness, in the literal sense of ἐπιχορηγῶν^p, which may be understood of some *second* supply of the gifts of the Spirit, in addition to a *first*; such as might be expected upon a *second* visit of St. Paul. That weakness of the flesh which is alluded to here, as the description of bodily circumstances under which St. Paul first preached in Galatia, is referred to also in the First Epistle to the Corinthians^q, as what had been observable during his residence at Corinth; and it is a critical coincidence that he came from Galatia, on the first occasion, almost directly to Corinth. If both these allusions are to the same thing which is denoted by the thorn in the flesh^r; the commencement of that infirmity is dated from or soon after the rapture, which we proved to have taken place U. C. 794: and it was still in existence, when the Second to the

^p Gal. iii. 5.

^q ii. 3.

^r 2 Cor. xii. 7.

Corinthians was written, U.C. 808: There is given me a goad for the flesh; a messenger of Satan, to buffet me; that I be not elated beyond measure. Had St. Paul been speaking of something no longer in being, he would have said, There was given me a goad for the flesh; a messenger of Satan, that he *should* buffet me, that I *might* not be elated beyond measure—*ἵνα με κολαφίζοι ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραιρόμην*.

It follows, then, that the Epistle could not have been written before St. Paul settled at Ephesus, U.C. 806.

But fifthly; the Epistle could not have been written before the First to the Corinthians, U.C. 807: nor even before the Second, U.C. 808.

For first, when the Epistle was written to the Galatians, St. Peter was personally known to them^s; whence we may infer that he had already been personally among them. But he was never personally among them before the time of his great Evangelical circuit; on which circuit it has been proved elsewhere^t that he set out U.C. 805, and in the course of which, U.C. 806, or U.C. 807, he came to Corinth; having visited Galatia previously.

Secondly, St. Paul had sometime given instructions to the church of Galatia, the same in themselves and manifestly for the same purpose, (the collection going forward in behalf of the Hebrew church,) which he repeated to the church of Corinth^u. Now no such instructions of any kind are to be found in the Epistle to the Galatians; nor even an allusion from its beginning to its end, whence it might be conjectured that such a business as this collection was then going on at all. It is reasonable therefore to presume that St. Paul had either given himself, or sent by some other medium to the church of Galatia, the instructions in

^s Gal. i. 18. ii. 7—11.

^t Dissertation ii. vol. i. 113.

^u 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

question *orally*, before he wrote his First to the Corinthians: and that the collection was made and completed, before he wrote the Epistle to the Galatians. Now each of these suppositions is possible: for St. Paul came himself to Ephesus, U. C. 806, directly after a visit to Galatia; and he made this visit to Galatia, directly after his return to Antioch, U. C. 805. At the visit to Jerusalem the same year, before all these things, it was stipulated that the Gentiles should remember the *poor*^v; that is, the poor of the church of Jerusalem, for whom the collection was ultimately intended. A sabbatic year was about to arrive in U. C. 808; and the collection against that year was begun in Achaia, U. C. 807, a year before its arrival: and when it was only beginning there, it had been going on some time in Galatia, and by parity of reason in the rest of the Asiatic churches. It was begun there then before the middle of U. C. 807, at the latest; and probably it was begun earlier. St. Paul, it is true, was at Ephesus all the year U. C. 807; and perhaps all the year 806: but he might either leave directions with the church of Galatia, when he visited them himself, in U. C. 805, prospectively against this time; or communicate with them, when the time arrived, by some other agent. And this appears to me to have been the case.

For when St. Paul was present in Jerusalem, at the Passover, U. C. 805, Titus was with him^w; and therefore as we may suppose would afterwards accompany him both to Antioch and to Galatia: yet either he did not return with him to Ephesus, U. C. 806, or if he did, he had been sent somewhither from Ephesus again, before St. Paul wrote the First to the Corinthians, U. C. 807. For he was not with St. Paul when he wrote that Epistle; yet before St. Paul wrote the Second, he

^v Gal. ii. 10.

^w Ibid. ii. 1.

had come from some quarter to Ephesus, accompanied by another of the brethren, (who is currently believed to be St. Luke,) and that, a brother charged, (*χειροτονηθεὶς*,) by common appointment, with the contributions of some Christian societies, distinct from those of Macedonia and Achaia; which must consequently have been the Christian societies of Asia: he had been sent from Ephesus to Corinth; he had been expected to meet St. Paul (on his way back into Asia) at Troas; he did not meet him until St. Paul was come into Macedonia: he had departed again to Corinth from Macedonia, accompanied also by the brother supposed to be St. Luke, out of obedience to a personal wish of St. Paul's; and with a view to expedite and get ready the contributions of Achaia, before St. Paul himself, accompanied by the brethren from Macedonia, might be expected to arrive at Corinth: and all this before the Second to the Corinthians was written^x.

We may conclude, therefore, that Titus and St. Luke were the persons by whose means St. Paul, though himself at Ephesus, had communicated on the subject of this contribution with the churches of Asia, and with that of Galatia among the rest; that this communication was made early in U. C. 807; and that the contributions, so raised, were brought to Ephesus by

^x 2 Cor. vii. 8. 6. 13-16-viii. 6-16-24. ii. 12, 13. ix. 3-5. xii. 17, 18. Some of these texts (as viii. 23: ix. 3. 5.) would imply that others besides St. Luke accompanied Titus on this second occasion; and others (xii. 17, 18.) that some brother (whether the same as in the second instance or not) accompanied Titus on his former mission to Corinth—that mission, on his return from which Paul expected to have met him at Troas, (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13,) but did not meet him until he came into Macedonia (Ibid. vii. 5. 6.)

It is to be observed, that by many of the ancient commentators the brother alluded to, whose praise was in the gospel, was thought to be Barnabas. See Œcumenius, in 2 Cor. viii. 18. i. 663. A. B: Ibid. 19. 664, B. C. One thing, at least, appears to be plainly intimated by the comparison of 2 Cor. viii. 18 and 19, with 22, that the brother, whose praise was in the Gospel, was different from the brother whom Paul had proved diligent in many things. This latter, in my opinion, was most probably St. Luke: though I still should not suppose that the former could be Barnabas. Theodorit certainly understands it of Barnabas, see iii. 331: In 2 Cor. viii. 19: and the brother, sent along with Titus to Corinth, of Apollos; Ibid. 332. 22. Cf. Theophylact, ii. 287, C—E. In 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19.

the same parties, between the Passover and the Pentecost of U. C. 808. When the Epistle to the Galatians then was written, which must have been after U. C. 807, *ineuntem*, at least, there is no reason to suppose the least allusion to this subject would be found in it.

And this conclusion is further confirmed by the right version of ii. 10, the only text in the Epistle which can be construed into a contrary meaning: ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Had St. Paul been referring in these words to any thing about which he was anxious at the very time when this meeting was held at Jerusalem, and much more about which he was anxious still; the merest tyro in the Greek language would know that he might be expected to have written ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδαζον αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι: or else, ὁ καὶ σπουδάξω αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. As this is not the case, the tense of the verb, as it stands, must have either its purely indefinite and historical sense; or stand, as it so often does in Greek, for the preterite ἐσπούδακα: so as to mean; Which also I endeavoured with the requisite diligence to do; *or* Which also I have endeavoured with the requisite diligence to do; or more agreeably to our idiom—The very thing which I also have been diligent to do. Compare Acts xi. 28. 30. xxvi. 10. where similar phrases occur. Each of these meanings implies that the thing itself, the matter of fact in question, the object of this diligence; which was that the Gentiles should remember the poor of Jerusalem; was already a past fact, and was not the object of that diligence any longer: with this difference between them, that, according to the former, it might be any length of time past; according to the latter, it must very recently have been effected.

Thirdly, we may remark at Gal. iv. 10. the following allusion; Ye are observing days, and months, and sea-

sons, and years ; where the mention of years unquestionably denotes sabbatic years ; and the assertion in general must imply that the Galatians either were observing these, among other Mosaic rites, at the time when the Epistle was written, or were disposed to observe them. Now from seed-time, U. C. 808, to seed-time, U. C. 809, was actually a sabbatic year ; in the course of which, especially about the time of its feasts, as that of the Scenopegia or that of the Passover—there would also be days, in its sabbaths, and months, in its new moons, and seasons, in the stated times of its legal solemnities, which Galatian or other Christians, who had imbibed the principles of the Judaizing teachers, might think themselves bound to observe. There is a similar allusion at Col. ii. 16, but not with any such distinct assertion of an observance then going on. If the Epistle was written in the course of a sabbatic year, this allusion might be as true with respect to the Galatians, as it would be natural and just in the writer : and we have shewn that, though it could not have been written before U. C. 807, yet there is nothing in what has hitherto been said to prevent but that it might have been written in U. C. 808.

For fourthly, in all the First Epistle to the Corinthians from first to last, we can discover not *one* distinct allusion to the existence of Judaizing teachers ; or to the prevalence of Judaizing principles in that church : whereas, in the Second Epistle, written about a year after the First, they are to be met with almost in every page^y. They appear also sufficiently clearly in the Epistle to the Romans, written after both the former^z. I cannot help inferring from this distinction, which is very perceptible and equally remarkable, that these teachers and their principles were not yet got into

^y 2 Cor. ii. 17. v. 12. x. 2. 7. 10. xi. 4. 12—15. 21—23. ^z Rom. xvi. 17—20.

Corinth when the First Epistle was written ; but were so when the Second was written. They came thither consequently in the interval between the Epistles : and herein we may observe a remarkable coincidence between the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Second to the Corinthians. These teachers, as we may presume, would arrive in Galatia before they arrived in Corinth ; yet they were only just come among that church, when the Epistle was written : I marvel that ye are so soon beginning (*of yourselves*) to depart from him who called you in Christ's grace, to another gospel, (which is not another, *or*, as to which, there is not another,)—*of yourselves, I say*, unless there be some who are troubling you, and desiring to pervert the Gospel of Christ ^a—*and again*, Ye were running well ; who hath hindered you ? *or rather*, tripped you up ^b?—*and*, But he who is troubling you shall bear the condemnation (*of so doing*), whosoever he may be ^c—*and again*, ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς ^d*—*and*

* The text above, ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται, κ', τ. λ. scarcely allows of being rendered literally : and certainly it is not rightly translated in the authorized version ; *I would they were even cut off that trouble you*. The meaning of St. Paul will be sufficiently illustrated to the classical reader by the following passages :

Justin Martyr, Apologia i. 45. l. 7 : καὶ φανερώς εἰς κιναιδίαν ἀποκόπτονται τινες, καὶ εἰς μητέρα θεῶν τὰ μυστήρια ἀναφέρουσι. Dio Chrysostom, xxxiii. 19. §. 30. 35 : ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἦχος τίνων ἐστίν ; οὐχὶ τῶν ἀνδρογύνων ; οὐχὶ τῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποκεκομμένων ; Dio Cassius, lxxix.

11 : ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν παντάπασιν αὐτὸ ἀποκόψαι. De Elagabalo. Arrian, Epictetus, lib. ii. 20. 296. 297 : καὶ οἱ ἀποκοπτόμενοι τὰς γε προθυμίας τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκόψασθαι οὐ δύνανται. Theophilus ad Autolycum, iii. 6. 304 : ἡ Ἄττου τοῦ ἀποκοπτομένου—Clemens Alexand. Operum i. 74. l. 10 : Cohortatio ad Gentes, x : πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀφηρημένους, κ', τ. λ. Bardesanes (apud Eusebium, Evangelica Præparatio, vi. 10. 279. D.) : ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀσροηνῇ ἀπεκόπτοντο πολλοὶ τῇ Ῥέᾳ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μὲν ῥοπήν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβγαρος ἐκέλευσε τῶν ἀποκοπτομένων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποκόπτεσθαι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκ τότε οὐδεὶς ἀπεκόψατο ἐν τῇ

^a Gal. i. 6, 7.

^b v. 7.

^c v. 10.

^d v. 12.

again, O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, not to obey the truth^e—and again, Are ye so foolish? having begun in spirit, are ye now making an end in flesh*? Have ye suffered so much to no purpose? if, indeed, it be even to no purpose^f—all which are clear intimations that these teachers, whether many or one, with the leaven of their principles, were only just come among the Galatians: and that St. Paul as yet did not know even who they were†. Now this is exactly the way in which he speaks of them in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: the tenth chapter of that Epistle is a case to the point throughout: and at the fourth verse of the eleventh, he applies to some one of these teachers in particular the indefinite description of ὁ ἐρχόμενος; which implies that, though he might be expected to come soon, he was not yet come to Corinth.

Fifthly, the coincidence between the general argument, reasonings, and sentiments, and partially even the expressions, of the Epistle to the Galatians, and of that to the Romans, is a presumptive proof that they were written about the same time; or with a view to the same purposes, arising in part from the same

Ὅσπρονῃ. Artemidorus, Oneirocritica, ii. 74: καὶ γάλλοι, οἱ ἀπόκοποι καὶ σπάδοντες. The same author alludes to this kind of mutilation as a species of punishment in his time: iv. 67: ἀλλ' ἐτμήθη τὸ αἰδοῖον, ὃ ἰδὼν τὸν ὄνειρον. Cf. Œcumenius, in Novum Testamentum, i. 760. C. in Epistolam ad Galatas, v. 12: Suidas. Ἀποκόπους: Ἄρρεν: Βάκχος: Γάλλος.

A similar sentiment occurs 1 Cor. vii. 18: περιτετμημένος τις ἐκλήθη; μὴ ἐπισπάσθω: to illustrate which compare 1 Macc. i.

15: Josephus, De Maccabæis, 5: Origen, De Principiis, iv. 18. Operum i. p. 180: Suidas, Ἀντίοχος. In like manner, Deuteronomy xxiii. 1. ἀποκεκομμένος occurs ἀπλῶς, for τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀφηρημένος.

* Cœpisti melius quam desinis: ultima primis | cedunt: dissimiles hic vir et ille puer. Dejanira Herculi, 23.

† Epiphanius, indeed, says the teachers in question were Cerinthus and his disciples. Operum i. 111. C. Cerinthiani, ii: 112. C. Ibid. iv: 114. B. Ibid. vi.

^e Gal. iii. 1.

^f iii. 3, 4.

juncture of circumstances, and the same kind of occasion. To establish the fact of this coincidence we may compare the passages in the margin ^g. There are other Epistles, as those to the Ephesians and to the Colossians and those to Titus and the First to Timothy respectively; of which a similar conformity is perceptible, and which were certainly written together. I cannot indeed contend that the coincidence in the present instance is such, as would lead to the inference that one Epistle was written while the other was still fresh in the mind of the writer; but I think it is such even here as, among other arguments, to prove that both were written within a short time of each other: in which case the Epistle to the Galatians, as neither so elaborate, nor so regular, nor in all respects so deliberate and premeditated a composition as that to the Romans, but manifestly written on the spur of the moment, under the first excitement of feeling produced by an unexpected and disagreeable piece of information, that of the defalcation of any of the writer's converts from the sound and sober form of the faith which they had received from him; we may perhaps conclude was written by St. Paul first.

Lastly, if it is reasonable to suppose that the Judaizing teachers would not leave Judæa, to make converts professedly among the Gentiles, before the last of the Apostles, St. Peter, had himself set out upon his

^g Galatians iii. 6.	with Romans iv. 3.
— 7.	— 12. ix. 6, 7.
— 13.	viii. 1—4.
iv. 5, 6, 7.	viii. 14, 15, 17.
— 4.	— 3.
— 28.	ix. 7.
v. 14.	xiii. 8—10.
— 17.	vii. 13—24.
— 19—21.	i. 28—31.
vi. 1, 2.	xv. 1—3.
iii. 6—iv. 1—7. }	ii. 17—29.
iv. 21—31. }	iii. 9—
v. 1—6. }	v. 21.

great Evangelical circuit ; then if the progress of that circuit did not bring even him to Corinth before the beginning of U. C. 807. it is not extraordinary that those teachers also should not arrive there, or even in Galatia, before U. C. 808. Again, Galatians v. 11. is clearly incompatible with an early date ; but very much in unison with Acts xx. 3. and Rom. xv. 30, 31. which are synchronous facts and allusions. Again, it is a very ancient tradition, and attested by the subscription of the Epistle itself, that the Epistle to the Galatians was written from Rome ; and though the subscriptions to the Epistles in general are entitled to little consideration, yet if the Epistle was actually written when St. Paul was on his way to Rome, the tradition may so far have been correct. There is no intimation in any part of the Epistle that St. Paul intended to revisit the Galatians in person ; but rather the contrary^h : and consequently that at the time when he was writing to them he had no means of addressing them, or of correcting their error, except by letter. This too, I think, would be the case after the point of time specified at Acts xix. 21. and from thenceforward, until he arrived at Jerusalem. It was not indeed in the nature of things impossible that he might write the Epistle after this, when he was at Cæsarea ; but the first words of the exordium, Παῦλος . . . καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί, imply that he was somewhere at large, and in the society of his usual companions and fellow-labourers, when he wrote it. He makes use of similar language at Acts xx. 34. speaking of those who had been his companions at Ephesus. Had the Epistle been written while he was any where in confinement, some allusion would have occurred in it to his bonds ; whereas there is nothing of the kind.

^h Gal. iv. 18, 19, 20.

Nor do I consider the declaration, ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζωⁱ, to be any exception to the contrary. It is proved, as I think, by 2 Cor. x. 10. xii. 7, 8, 9. Gal. iv. 13, 14. that this allusion to the *prints* of the Lord Jesus, is an allusion to his thorn in the flesh. The principle of the allusion is illustrated by Philo Judæus^k. Ἕνιοι δὲ . . . ἔνται πρὸς δουλείαν τῶν χειροκμήτων, γράμμασιν αὐτὴν ὁμολογοῦντες οὐκ ἐν χαρτιδίοις, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἔθος, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καταστίζοντες αὐτὴν σιδήρῳ πεπυρωμένῳ, πρὸς ἀνεξάλειπτον διαμονήν. This custom was of great antiquity in Egypt; for Herodotus alludes to it in his own time^l — ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεω ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱρὰ, ἐωϋτὸν διδούς τῷ Θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι *. And the practice of so branding them-

* Plutarch, Nicias, 29: καὶ τοὺς ὡς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν (the Athenians made prisoners by the Syracusans) στιζόντες ἵππον εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. Cf. Suidas in Σαμίῳ ὁ δῆμος. Hence slaves were also called στιγματαῖαι. Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmatē dignum | Credidit — Juvenal, x. 183. Yet Herodotus, vii. 35. makes Xerxes actually treat the Helle-spont so. The name of ἀτταγᾶς was given metaphorically to slaves so marked, because that species of bird had mottled or party-coloured plumage: see Suidas, Ἀτταγᾶς. It appears from Ambrose, Operum ii. 1189. D. E. De Obitu Valentiniani, §. 58. that slaves, or servants, in his time, if Christians, would sometimes bear the name of Christ, and soldiers that of the emperor: Caractere Domini inscribuntur et servuli, et nomine imperatoris signantur milites.

Criminals were sometimes branded: as thieves with the word *fur*. Hence, apud Plautum, Trium litterarum homo.

Lucian, De Dea Syria, iii. 489. §. 59: στιζονται δὲ πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἅπαντες Ἀσσύριοι στιγματοφοροῦσι. In reference to the persecution of the Jews in Egypt by Ptolemy Philopator, between B. C. 222 and 205, it is said, 3 Macc. ii. 29: τοὺτους τε ἀπογραφομένους χαράσσεσθαι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα παρασήμῳ Διονύσου κισσοφύλλῳ, οὗς καὶ καταχωρίσαι εἰς τὴν προσυνεσταλμένην αὐθεντίαν. Certain of the heretical sects adopted a similar mode of distinguishing themselves. Irenæus, i. xxiv. 101. l. 28. De Carpocratianis: Alii vero ex ipsis signant, cauteriantes suos discipulos in posterioribus partibus exstantiæ dextræ auris. Epiphanius, Operum i. 106. D. Con-

ⁱ vi. 17.

^k Operum ii. 220. l. 46. sqq. De Monarchia, lib. i.

^l ii. 113.

selves was expressly forbidden the Jews^m. St. Paul's thorn in the flesh, whatsoever it was, did as plainly denote whose servant he was; by whose grace, notwithstanding this infirmity, his ministerial labours were crowned with success, and *whose* strength was made perfect in *his* weakness; as if the name of the Master whom he served, and whose property he was, had been branded or printed on his body.

The result of these reasonings is to confirm our original proposition, that the Epistle to the Galatians was not written before U. C. 807. nor after U. C. 809; and therefore most probably U. C. 808: but whether before the Second to the Corinthians, or after the Epistle to the Romans, or between the two, I cannot undertake to determine; nor in fact is it of any importance to do so. The same uncertainty must always exist with regard to the place where it was written, further than simply thus much; that if it was written in U. C. 808. it was written from some one or other of those quarters, in which St. Paul spent the whole of

tra eosdem, v : σφραγίδα δὲ ἐν καν-
τῇρι, ἣ δι' ἐπιτηδεύσεως ξυρίου ἢ
ράφιδος, ἐπιτιθέασιν οὗτοι, οἱ ὑπὸ
Καρποκρά, ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν λοβὸν τοῦ
ώτους, τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπατωμένοις.

To bear *στήγματα*, however, was not every where a mark of disgrace. On the contrary, like the practice of tattooing among certain of the Indian tribes, it was in some cases reckoned honourable. Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, i. 9 : *στήζονται παρὰ Θραξίν οἱ εὐγενεῖς παῖδες, καὶ παρὰ Γέτταις (Γέταις) δοῦλοι*—ii. 12 : *πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν ὄντας, ἐν οἷς οἱ πλείστοι στήζονται*. Dio Chrysostom, xiv. 442. §. 40 : *τί*

δέ; ἐν Θράκη γέγονας; ἔγωγε. ἑώρακας οὖν ἐκεῖ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἐλευθέρας, στιγμάτων μεστὰς, καὶ τοσούτῳ πλείονα ἐχούσας στήγματα καὶ ποικιλωτέρα, ὅσων βελτίους καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων δοκοῦσι; Yet a different account of the origin and import of these *στήγματα* of the Thracian women is given in the Greek Anthology; viz. that they were intended as a memorial and a punishment of their crime in murdering Orpheus. It concludes, *ποινὰς δ' Ὀρφῆϊ καταμένο στήζουσι γυναῖκας | εἰσέτι νῦν, κείνης εἵνεκεν ἀμπλακίης*. Anthologia, i. 205. Phanoclis i.

^m Lev. xix. 28.

this year: that is, the first part he spent in Asia, but the rest, and the chief part perhaps in Macedonia, if not in Achaia. And having arrived at this conclusion, we may resume the course of our subject, which was the continuance of St. Paul's last journey from Greece to Jerusalem, U. C. 809.

It will appear from the Table of Passovers in Dissertation vii. that the Passover was celebrated U. C. 809. on March 19: and the Pentecost on May 9. It was by the time of this feast that St. Paul proposed to arrive in Jerusalemⁿ: and that he accomplished his purpose in the interval between his leaving Philippi, and his being apprehended in the temple, is evident from the presence of the Jews of Asia in Jerusalem, at the time of the latter event^o. But the same Jews were not present at Cæsarea also, when he was soon after examined by Felix^o. We may infer then that Pentecost was over by that time; and that those Jews were returned to their homes. As St. Paul had to travel from Corinth as far as Philippi by land, and as he spent at Philippi the Paschal week; which would fall, according to the reckoning above made, between March 19. and March 26. *inclusive*; it is probable that he set out from Corinth about the end of February, and arrived at Philippi about the third week in March. His three months' residence in Greece then terminated about the end of February, U. C. 809, and began consequently about the middle or the beginning of December, U. C. 808: which is entirely agreeable to what we before concluded of the length of his stay in Macedonia.

Between the time of the arrival in Jerusalem, and the day of St. Paul's first examination before Felix, there was exactly a twelve days' interval^p: the accu-

ⁿ Acts xx. 16.

^o xxi. 27. xxiv. 18.

^p xxiv. 11.

racy of which calculation may be proved as follows. First, the day of the arrival ; secondly, the day of the interview with James ; thirdly, the day of St. Paul's entering into the temple with the Nazarites ; fourthly, the day when he was seized in the temple, some one of the seven days of purification ; fifthly, the day when he was examined before the council ; sixthly, the day which preceded the night of his mission to Cæsarea ; seventhly, the day of his arrival at Cæsarea ; eighthly, the day when he was put on his first audience before Felix^q. Cæsarea was six hundred stades, or about sixty of our miles^r, distant from Jerusalem, and St. Paul would arrive there the day after he set out ; for he reached Antipatris that very night, and Antipatris was more than midway between Cæsarea and Jerusalem^s. He was put on his first audience either the fourth or the fifth day after his arrival ; and the only point, upon which there can be any uncertainty, is as to which of the seven days' purification of the Nazarites he was apprehended upon in the temple.

The calculation above given will shew that it was about the third or fourth of the number. Those twelve days, however, as calculated above, were dated from the day of St. Paul's coming to Jerusalem ; but, perhaps, they should be dated from the day *after* that, the day of his entering in to James ; which day after, if I am not mistaken, is to be pronounced the day of Pentecost itself. For St. Paul tells Felix that, in consequence of his long experience of the usages of the Jews, he could easily comprehend it was but twelve days' time since he had come up to Jerusalem to worship^t ; which yet, with all that experience, Felix could

^q Acts xxi. 17, 18. 26, 27. xxii. 30. xxiii. 11, 12. 23. 32. xxiv. 1. ^r Josephus, Ant. Jud. xiii. xi. 2. xv. ix. 6. Bell. i. iii. 5. ^s Reland, Palestina, ii. cap. ix. 444. ^t xxiv. 11.

not comprehend, unless he had previously been aware that the day of Pentecost (which brought Jews from all parts up to worship) had fallen not more than twelve days before.

On this principle, the day of St. Paul's first audience would be about the twenty-first of May. The day of Pentecost was certainly then past, or the Jewish rulers would not otherwise have gone down to Cæsarea from Jerusalem. It is of importance to establish this point; for Paul was again examined by Felix some days after this first occasion, in the presence of Drusilla his wife; which examination would thus fall about the end of May or the beginning of June: and it is from this last examination that we are to date the beginning and continuance of the two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea^u. These two years therefore would expire about the end of May or the beginning of June, U. C. 811; and this time of the year in particular, especially while the edict of Claudius or the rule of Tiberius, formerly alluded to^v, was in force, was the most likely of all for the arrival of a new governor, and consequently for the departure of an old. From the middle of April to the beginning of June there would be six or seven weeks' interval; the ordinary length of time necessary to travel in summer from Judæa to Rome, or from Rome to Judæa. And as Pentecost, U. C. 809, fell upon May 9, so U. C. 811, it fell upon May 17, or at the latest upon May 18.

From the time of the arrival of Festus, to the time when he decided upon allowing of the appeal of Paul to Cæsar, there are express notices of more than seventeen days at least^w; which bring us past the middle of June. After this also, there was still some interval before the arrival of Agrippa at Cæsarea; and there

^u Acts xxiv. 24.

^v Dissertation ix. vol. i. 346.

^w xxv. i. 6—12. 17.

was a still longer interval occupied by the time of his stay there, before he requested to hear Paul; and last of all, there was his audience of Paul accordingly, on the day after that request^x. Even after this audience there was yet some interval or other, before Paul, with the other prisoners, was actually delivered to Julius, preparatory to setting out to Italy^y. On all these accounts it seems impossible to place his final departure for Rome, before the beginning or the middle of August, U. C. 811; which would consequently be towards the close of the fourth of Nero: and this conclusion, I think, may be confirmed as follows.

When he was arrived at Myra in Lycia, a ship of Alexandria was found there, sailing to Italy; in which he embarked^z. Now this ship was laden with corn^a, the last thing with which it parted in the storm: and, consequently, it was with corn of that year's harvest. The harvest in Egypt was over before the annual rise of the Nile; that is, the summer solstice. *Reliqua pars*, says Pliny^b on this subject, *non nisi cum falce arva visit paulo ante kalendas Aprilis. peragitur autem messis Maio* *. The corn-ships, therefore, with the produce of the year's harvest, would usually set out for Italy in the month of June or July, and arrive in August or September. There is a lively description, in one of Seneca's Epistles^c, of the effect

* *Αἱ δὲ που ἀσταχύνων κενεαὶ φαίνονται ἄρουραι | ἡελίου τὰ πρῶτα συν-ερχομένοιιο Λέοντι.* Aratus, *Phænomena*, 150. The scholiast, ad vers. 137, observes, that barley harvest began when the sun was in Aries, that is soon after the vernal equinox. Ad versum 264. harvest time in Egypt is made to begin in the Julian April. In

the Greek Anthology, (vol. iii. 211.) there is a poetical enumeration of the Egyptian months according to their names and order, and the physical or other characteristics by which they were distinguished. Pachon, which answered principally to May, is thus described: *λήϊα δ' αἰανθέντα Πάχων δρεπάνοισι φυλάσσει.*

^x Acts xxv. 13, 14. 23.
^b H. N. xviii. 47.

^y xxvii. 1.
^c Epistola lxxvii. §. 1, 2.

^z xxvii. 5, 6.

^a xxvii. 38.

produced by the appearance of the first of these ships ; called *tabellariæ* or packets.

Moreover, when the wind was favourable, the usual route of the Alexandrian corn-ships, bound to Italy, was not in the direction which *this* ship was taking, along the coast of Asia Minor from east to west ; but across the Mediterranean by Malta and Sicily, from south-east to north-west, which was straight in the direction from Alexandria in Egypt to Italy. But this could not be done, unless the Etesian monsoon had ceased to blow, and the southern winds, by which it was commonly succeeded, had set in in its stead. Before that, the ships which left Alexandria bound for Italy, according to the principles of the coasting navigation universally practised by antiquity, were compelled to pursue a very circuitous route, in order to take advantage of the Etesian winds. This seems to have been the case with the ship found at Myra, yet making a voyage, and that with corn, to Italy*.

* Lucian, *Navigium*, seu *Vota*, *Operum* iii. 254. cap. 9 : Cf. cap. i : a ship, coming from Egypt, and laden with corn, is supposed to arrive in the Piræus at Athens, on its way to Italy, upon the seventieth day after it had left Alexandria ; having sailed all round the Mediterranean, to take advantage of the Etesian winds : *πρὸς ἀντίους τοὺς ἐτησίας πλαγιάζοντας*. Philostratus, *Heroica*, 637. B : *πλέω μὲν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τε καὶ Φοινίκης πέμπτην καὶ τριακοστὴν ἤδη πού ταύτην ἡμέραν* : which is evidently under similar circumstances, and is supposed to be said by one arrived no further than Elæus on the Hellespont. Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, vi. viii. complains, Nos Etesiae vehementissime tarda-

runt : and he might well say so, if he set out on his return from his province, U. C. 704, on the first of August, and wrote this letter only from Ephesus on the first of October. Æschines, *Epistolæ*, i : the voyage of Æschines, from Athens to Rhodes, though made in the middle of summer, yet from contrary winds, and other impediments, took up three weeks' time at least. Under ordinary circumstances, and with a fair wind, the passage might be effected in *four* days : Lycurgus, *Oratio*, §. 71, 72. We may form, in short, some idea of the delay which St. Paul would experience from the Etesian winds, if what Posidonius relates of himself, apud Strabonem, iii. 2. 384, be true : that, being opposed by

That the Etesian winds in particular were blowing both when St. Paul left Sidon, and when he came in the direction of Cnidus^k, is manifest from the relative position of Cyprus to the one, and of Myra in Lycia to the other; but more especially from the fact that, when the ship left Cnidus, instead of pursuing its former course, it sailed under the coast of Crete, in the direction of Salmone; and that because the wind was contrary^l: for this was to sail directly before the Etesian wind, viz. from north to south. That the northern monsoon then was still blowing seems unquestionable; but that it was about to be succeeded by the southern appears from the change of the wind, when the ship set out again from the Fair Havens in Crete towards Phœnice; for this was with a slight wind from the south^m.

Now the time when the Etesian winds commonly ceased to blow, or continued to blow only very irregularly, is known to have been about the recurrence of the autumnal equinox, or the middle of the last week in September*. It may be presumed, then, that it was

an Etesian wind from the east, he was three months in sailing from Spain, beyond the straits of Gibraltar, to Sardinia. Posidonius was a contemporary and friend of Pompey the Great: Strabo, xi. 1. §. 5, 6. p. 362, 363, 364.

* Very different dates may be found assigned to the setting in of the winds in question; from the middle of July to the first of August. In like manner their duration is differently represented from forty to fifty days. In the nature of things it was not to be expected that they should every year begin

and end alike. They would in general, however, continue until the month of September. Vide Pliny, H. N. ii. 47: Aristotle, Meteorologica, ii. 5: Columella, xi. 2: Geoponica, i. 9: Galen, ix. 153. C: Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 15. p. 334: Suidas, Ἑτησίαι: Scholia ad Arati Phænomena, 152: ad Germanici Aratea Phænomena, 282: ad Germanici Prognostica, p. 114, &c. Aratus, Phænomena, 152. after the two lines quoted supra, p. 192. with reference to the time when corn harvest of both sorts was over in Egypt, continues, Τῆμος καὶ κελάδοντες ἑτησίαι εὐρεῖ πόντῳ |

^k Acts xxvii. 3, 4, 5, 7.

^l xxvii. 7.

^m xxvii. 13.

not before this time that St. Paul arrived at Crete : and the presumption as I think is confirmed by the allusion to the *νηστεία*, or tenth of the Jewish Tisriⁿ ; as past some time, more or less, before they set out for Phœnice.

In the year U. C. 811, A. D. 58, when the fifteenth of Nisan coincided with March 28, the fifteenth of Tisri coincided with September 21 ; and consequently the tenth of Tisri fell on September 16. If we suppose that, before the ship arrived at the Fair Havens, St. Paul had been about a month on the road, and that the day of the fast occurred either before or soon after they came thither ; the time of his departure from Cæsarea would be, as we conjectured, about the middle or even the beginning of August. It was the intention of the ship's crew not to have continued their route that year from Crete, but to have passed the winter in the island ; and when they set out from the Fair Havens to Phœnice, it was only that they might change their present winter quarters for others which were more convenient. This is a proof that, before they set out, the autumnal equinox, or September 24, was long past ; the autumnal equinox being the time after which the sea was usually considered shut *. They had apparently

ἀθρόοι ἐμπίπτουσιν· ὁ δὲ πλόος οὐκ-
έτι κόπαις | ὥριος· εὐρέϊά μοι
ἀρέσκοιεν τότε νῆες, | εἰς ἄνεμον δὲ
τὰ πηδὰ κυβερνητῆρες ἔχοιεν. Apol-
lonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, ii.
500—529. gives a mythological
account of the origin of these
winds—which he represents as
a providential dispensation of
Jupiter to temper the heat of the
dog-star : Τοῖο δ' ἔκητι | γαῖαν
ἐπιψύχουσιν ἐτήσιοι ἐκ Διὸς αὖραι |
ἥματα τεσσαράκοντα, κ', τ. λ. The

Scholiast, in loco, observes : τὰς
τῶν ἐτησίων ἀνέμων ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν
τεσσαράκοντα, ἄλλοι δὲ πεντήκοντα
φασὶν, ὡς Τιμοσθένης. ἄρχονται δὲ
πνέιν ὄντος τοῦ ἡλίου ἐν τῷ τοῦ καρ-
κίνου τέλει· πνέουσι δὲ δι' ὅλου τοῦ
λέοντος, καὶ λήγουσιν ἐν τῷ διμοίρῳ
τῆς παρθένου. Cf. ad vers. 500.
supra.

* Philo Judæus, *Operum* ii. 548.
14. De Virtutibus : διαγγελίσσης
οὖν τῆς οὗτι νοσεῖ φήμης, ἔτι πλοῖμων
ὄντων· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἦν μετοπώραν, τε-

ⁿ Acts xxvii. 9.

taken up their abode for the winter at Lasæa; and it was against the prophetic warning of St. Paul that they ventured to exchange it for another: he would have had them remain where they were; the pilot and the master of the vessel thought there could be no danger in removing as far as Phœnice.

It is extremely probable, then, that they must have set out from the Fair Havens about the middle of our October, if not later; and as the storm which immediately surprised them lasted fourteen days or more°, they would be wrecked on Malta at last about the beginning, if not nearer to the middle of our November*.

λευταῖος πλοῦς τοῖς θαλαττεύουσιν,
ἀπὸ τῶν πανταχόθεν ἐμπορίων εἰς
τοὺς οἰκείους λιμένας καὶ ὑποδρόμους
ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς πρόνοια
τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάζειν ἐπὶ ξένης ἐστίν.

Hesiod, Opera et Dies, 671:
Σπείδειν δ' ὅττι τάχιστα πάλιν οἰ-
κόνδε νέεσθαι | μηδὲ μένειν οἰνόν
τε νέον καὶ ὀπωρινὸν ὄμβρον, | καὶ
χειμῶν' ἐπιόντα, νότοιό τε δεινὰς
ἀήτας, | ὅς τ' ὄρινε θάλασσαν ὁμαρ-
τήσας Διὸς ὄμβρον | πολλῶ, ὅπω-
ρινῶ χαλεπὸν δέ τε πόντον ἔθηκεν.

Oppian, Halieutica, v. 312:
Φορτὶς ὅπως εὐρεία πολύζυγος, ἥν τε
θαλάσσης | ἀνέρες ἐξερύσωσιν ἐπὶ
τραφερὴν ἀνάγοντες, | χείματος ἰ-
σταμένοιο, μεταπνεῦσαι καμάτοιο |
ποντοπόρου· βριθὺς δὲ πόνος ναύ-
τησι μέμηλεν, κ', τ. λ.

Aristophanes, Aves, 709: Σπεί-
ρειν μὲν ὅταν γέρανός κρῶζουσ' ἐς
τὴν Διβύην μεταχωρῇ, | καὶ πηδάλιον
τότε ναυκλήρῳ φράζει κρεμάσαντι
καθεύδειν.

* The storm, which St. Paul encountered, and which ultimately cast him upon the island of Malta; exhibits all the appearances of such a storm, as in a multitude of instances may be

shewn to have coincided with the period in the natural year called the Πλειάδων δύσις; which, period, from the frequency of such convulsions of the elements at that juncture in particular, was considered and spoken of anciently as the most dangerous period for navigation in the whole year.

Hesiod, Opera et Dies, 616:
Εἰ δέ σε ναυτιλίας δυσπεμφέλου
ἱμερος αἰρεῖ, | εὖτ' ἂν Πηληϊάδες,
σθένος ὄβριμον Ὠρίωνος | φεύγου-
σαι, πίπτωσιν ἐς ἡγεροειδέα πόντον, |
δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θύουσιν
αἴηται· | καὶ τότε μηκέτι νῆας ἔχειν
ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ, κ', τ. λ.

Anacreon, Epigrammatum 3:
Καὶ σε, Κλεηνορίδην, πόθος ὤλεσε
πατρίδος αἴης, | θαρσῆσαντα νότου
λαίλαπι χειμερίῃ· | ὥρῃ γάρ σ' ἐ-
πέδησεν ἀνέγγυος· ὕγρὰ δὲ τὴν
σὴν | κύματ' ἐφ' ἱμερτὴν ἔκλυσεν
ἡλικίην.

Theocritus, Epigrammatum ix.
3: Δεῖλαιε Κλεόνικε, σὺ δ' εἰς λιπα-
ρὴν Θάσον ἔλθειν | ἡπείγεις, κοίτης
ἐμπορος ἐκ Συρίας· | ἐμπορος, ὃ
Κλεόνικε, δύσιν δ' ὑπὸ Πλειάδος
αὐτὴν | ποντοπορῶν, αὐτῇ Πλειάδι

In the fourth month after this shipwreck, (for so I understand the note of time at verse 11. of chap. xxviii.

συγκατέδυσ. Cf. *Idyll.* vii. 52—53. Also, *Anthologia*, ii. 7. *Antipatri Sidonii* viii.

Vegetius, De Re Militari, v. 9: A Novembri autem mense crebris tempestatibus navigia conturbat Vergiliarum hiemalis occasus.

Horace, Carminum iv. xiv. 20: Indomitas prope qualis undas | Exercet Auster, Pleiadum choro | Scindente nubes. Cf. i. xxviii. 21, 22: Epodon x. 9, 10: xv. 7, 8.

Ovid, De Arte Amandi, i. 409: Differ opus. tunc tristis hyems, tunc Pliades instant: | Tunc tener æquorea mergitur Hædus aqua.

Epistolæ de Ponto, ii. vii. 57: Fit fuga temporibus levior: projectus in æquor | Arcturum subii Pleiadumque minas.

Propertius, ii. xvi. 49: Vdistin' toto sonitus percurrere cælo? | Fulminaque ætherea desiluisse domo? | Non hæc Pleiades faciunt, neque aquosus Orion, | Nec sic de nihilo fulminis ira cadit. Cf. iii. v. 35, 36. Also *Statius, Silvarum* i. iii. 95, 96: vi. 21, 22: *Claudian, De Bello Getico*, 209—211, &c.

The *Vergiliarum occasus* is placed by *Pliny, H. N.* ii. 47, xi. 15. xviii. 60. 74, upon November 11: by *Servius, ad Georgica*, i. 219, on November 8. The *Geoponica*, i. 1, place it Nov. 2: and *Galen, Operum* ix. 8. D. on Nov. 13, &c. Cf. *Scholia ad Arati Phænomena*, 254 and 264: and *ad Germanici Prognostica*, page 114, 115.

Accordingly, *Herodotus*, viii. 117. 115, if not vi. 44. there is an

account of storms, which must have happened about the beginning of November, and therefore about the Πλειάδων δύσις. So likewise, in *Diodorus Sic.* xx. 69. and xx. 73, 74: with which last we may compare *Plutarch, Vita Demetrii*, 19. *Lucian, Toxaris sive De Amicitia*, ii. 527. 19. describes a similar storm. *Demos-thenes, Oratio* l. §. 30: ἔτι δὲ συνέβη τῆς νυκτὸς, ὥρα ἔτους, ὕδωρ καὶ βροντὰς καὶ ἀνεμὸν μέγαν γενέσθαι ὑπ' αὐτὰς γὰρ τὰς Πλειάδων δύσεις οἱ χρόνοι οὕτοι ἦσαν: of a storm, encountered off the coast of Thrace, §. 25, more than forty-five days μετ' Ἀρκτοῦρον, that is, about the beginning of November.

But the most remarkable example of a storm, nearly resembling that which *St. Paul* experienced, is supplied by *Aristides, ἱεροὶ λόγοι, Oratio* xxiv. 483. l. 10—20. He set out from *Patræ* in *Achaia*—ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἰσημερινὴν (that is, the autumnal) ἀράντων τῶν χρηστῶν ναυτῶν... ἄκοντος ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀντιλέγοντος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κ', τ. λ.—and when they were surprised by the tempest, he represents himself as tossed, like *St. Paul*, fourteen days and nights in the *Ægean* sea before he arrived at *Miletus*: τέτταρες πάλιν αἶται πρὸς ταῖς δέκα ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες, χειμῶνος κύκλῳ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πελάγους φερομένων, κ', τ. λ.

And as there was one definite time when the sea became shut, so there was another when it was supposed to be reopened. *Pliny*, ii. 47: Ver ergo aperit navigantibus maria... is dies sextus est ante *Februarias Idus*.

Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν,) which would consequently be some time in February or March, U. C. 812, they resumed their journey; and in something more than a

Servius, ad Virgiliū Georgica, i. 138: Sed Pleiades ortu suo primæ navigationis tempus ostendunt. unde Græce Pleiades dicuntur, ἀπὸ τοῦ πλέειν: Latine Vergiliæ, a verni temporis significatione, quo oriuntur.

Hence Propertius—O utinam hibernæ duplicentur tempora brumæ, | Et sit iners tardis navita Vergiliis: i. viii. 9. Cf. Theocritus, xiii. 25–29: Hesiod, Opera et Dies, 676–684: Horace, iii. vii. 1–5: iv. xii. 1, 2. Theophrastus, Ethici Characteres, περὶ ἀδολεσχίας: καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλώϊμον εἶναι: that is, with the ninth month in the Attic year, Elaphebolion, answering to February and March.

Vegetius, De Re Militari, v. 9: Ex die igitur tertio Iduum Novembris (the time of the setting of the Pleiads in Cæsar's calendar) usque in diem sextum Iduum Martiarum maria clauduntur. And, even after this, he proceeds to say: Post natalem vero ut ita dicam navigationis, qui sollemni certamine publicoque spectaculo multarum gentium celebratur, plurimorum siderum ipsiusque temporis ratione usque in Idus Maias periculose maria tentantur: non quod negotiatorum cesset industria, sed quia major adhibenda sit cautela.

Catullus, xlvi. 1–4: Jam ver egelidos refert tepores; | Jam cæli furor æquinoctialis | Jucundis zephyri silesceat auris. | Linquntur Phrygii Catulle campi, &c. The vernal equinox in Catullus' time was nominally

the middle of May. Ovid also, Fasti, iv. 131, observes of the month of April, Vere monet curvas materna per æquora puppes | Ire, nec hibernas jam timuisse minas.

Repeated allusions to this season, occur in the Greek Anthology. Thus, i. 168. Leonidæ Tarentini lvii: ὁ πλόος ὥραίος· καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν | ἤδη μέμβλωκεν, ᾧ χαρίεις Ζέφυρος. κ', τ. λ.

Again, ii. 16. Antipatri Sidonii xxxvii: ἀκμαῖος ῥοθίῃ νηὶ δρόμος, οὐδὲ θάλασσα | πορφύρει τρομερῇ φρικτὴ χαρασσομένη· | ἤδη δὲ πλάσσει μὲν ὑπόροφα γυρὰ χελιδὼν | οἰκία, λειμώνων δ' ἄβρα γελᾷ πέταλα. κ', τ. λ.

Again, ii. 248. Marci Argentarii xxiv: λῦσον ἀπ' εὐόρων δολιχὰ πρυμνήσια νηῶν, | εὐτροχα δ' ἐκπετάσας λαίφρα ποντοπόρει, | ἔμπορε. χεῖμῶνες γὰρ ἀπέδραμον, ἄρτι δὲ κύμα | γλανκὸν θηλύνει πρηγῆγελος Ζέφυρος. κ', τ. λ. Cf. Ibid. 253. Satyrii Thyilli v. vi: iii. 214. Theæteti ii: Ibid. 219. Μῆνες Ῥωμαίων, 9, 10: iv. 23. Agathiæ lvii: Ibid. 60. Pauli Silentiarii lvii. Cf. also Oppian, Cynegeticon i. 117–121.

As, then, judging from the first of these criterions, we should conclude that St. Paul was cast upon Malta about the middle of November; so, by the help of the latter, we may consider it most likely that he would not resume his voyage before the beginning of March: and this would be actually about the middle of the fourth month, dated from the time of the shipwreck.

fortnight afterwards, which might possibly be at the beginning, or else at the middle of March, St. Paul arrived at Rome^p. His two years' residence there subsequently must be dated from this point of time: and beginning with March U. C. 812, it would expire with March U. C. 814.

Upon the arrival of Julius in Rome, he delivered his prisoners to the officer whose duty it was to receive them, and who is called the *στρατοπεδάρχης*; a very appropriate denomination for the commander-in-chief of the Prætorian cohorts or the Imperial guard; which, since the time of Sejanus in the reign of Tiberius, instead of being distributed in different parts of the city, had been collected together and quartered in a *στρατοπεδον*, or camp by themselves^q. The commander of these forces, from U. C. 804, the eleventh of Claudius, to U. C. 815, the eighth of Nero, was Burrus^r; and this is one argument among others that the time of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome could not have borne date later than the eighth of Nero: for, upon the decease of Burrus, the command was divided between two, Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus; as it had been, even before his appointment, between Lusius Geta and Rufius Crispinus*. Had the command been divided at the time of St. Paul's arrival, the extreme accuracy of St. Luke, I am persuaded, would have induced him to write *τοῖς στρατοπεδάρχαις*, not *τῷ στρατοπεδάρχη*. Nor is it improbable that the centurion Julius was a centurion of one of these cohorts; and that the *σπίρα Σεβαστῆς*^s, to which he belonged, is but a

* Dio. lx. 18. 23. lxi. 3. U. C. 796, the commander of the Prætorian guard was Catonius Justus: U. C. 797, Rufrius Pollio,

(whom Tacitus, xii. 42, calls Rufius Crispinus:) U. C. 807, Burrus: appointed according to Tacitus, U. C. 804.

^p Acts xxviii. 12—15. Dio, lxi. 3.

^q Tacitus, Annales, iv. 2.

^r xii. 42. xiv. 51. Cf.

^s Acts xxvii. 1.

Græcised form of expression for the Latin, Cohors Prætoria. I do not deny that Augusta, which would be in Greek Σεβαστή, was one of the commonest names both of legions and cohorts: but if we compare this description of Julius and *his* cohort with that of Cornelius and his^t, ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, it becomes an argument, that if St. Luke had meant in the former a particular cohort, which bore the name of Σεβαστή, as he certainly meant in the latter a particular cohort, which bore or once bore the name of Ἰταλική, he would have expressed himself accordingly; ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Σεβαστῆς.

During the whole of St. Paul's imprisonment, the command of these cohorts would still rest with Burrus; which, from the personal character of Burrus himself, may account both for the lenity of his imprisonment previously, and for his release at last. The character of his successors, and especially of Tigellinus the more influential of the two, was of a very different kind. Not but that the character of Nero himself, before the death of his mother, in his fifth year, and of Burrus, in his eighth, was far from being developed in all its atrocity; but as yet stood fair and unsullied: so much so, that it is an observation of later times upon his reign, as it appeared for some years at first, Procul differre cunctos principes Neronis quinquennio*:

* The above observation is ascribed to Trajan, by Aurelius Victor, in Nerone. Cf. also, the Epitome of Victor, in Nerone, which cites the words as, Distare cunctos principes Neronis quinquennio. Seneca, De Clementia, i. §. 6: Sed ingens tibi onus imposuisti . . . principatus tuus (he is addressing Nero) ad anni gustum exigitur.

The fifth of Nero, it is true, was the date of the death of his mother, before referred to. But that parricide was committed *after* or *during* the quinquatrus, or Ludi Minervæ, (Suetonius, Nero, 34. §. 6. Dio, lxi. 16.) which began on March 19, see Ovid, Fasti, iii. 809: and if, as is probable, St. Paul had already arrived in Rome by that time, no such

^t Acts x. 1.

and within this favourable period it was so ordered by Providence, that the two chief of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, for the first time both came to, and departed again from Rome. And here, having arrived at the end of the history in the Acts, we might also make an end of the history of St. Paul, as well as of the present Dissertation. But there still remain some of his Epistles, concerning the times of which we have hitherto said nothing; and yet the determination of the times of which, when we consider the very different opinions which are entertained with respect to some of them, may justly be regarded as necessary even to the confirmation of our previous conclusions. For the sake then of completing a subject, the importance of which it is not easy to overrate, and which would otherwise be manifestly imperfect, I will take the liberty of dwelling on these points a little longer.

The Epistles which St. Paul wrote from Rome, during any part of his two years' imprisonment, I be-

event could have happened before the close of the details of the history in the Acts. Nor did the death of Agrippina make any immediate difference in the public character of Nero; who openly threw off the mask first after the death of Burrus, in his eighth year, when Paul had been one year released.

The course of our investigations has thus brought St. Paul to Rome in the spring of U. C. 812. I will just observe here, that the Apocryphal correspondence supposed to have passed between Paul and Seneca (Vide the Codex Apocryphus, 892—904.) by the dates which some of those letters exhibit, shews it to have been the opinion of the writer, whosoever he was, that

St. Paul was at Rome, U. C. 811, and after it. See the tenth of these Epistles, which bears date, U. C. 811: and the xi. which bears date U. C. 812. The twelfth is dated U. C. 817, and the thirteenth and fourteenth, very probably, U. C. 814. All this period, excepting U. C. 811, and 817, St. Paul might actually be at Rome. Jerome was acquainted with these Epistles; and therefore gives Seneca a place among his ecclesiastical writers: *Quem non ponerem*, says he, in *catalogo Sanctorum*, nisi me illæ Epistolæ provocarent, quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecæ ad Paulum. Vide *Opus* iv. Pars ii^a. 106. De *Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, xii.

lieve were only the following four, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians. The Epistles which he wrote at any time between the close of that imprisonment and his death, must consequently be the remaining four: Hebrews, Titus, the First to Timothy, and the Second to Timothy. And all these, I think, were written in the order in which they are here recited. The proof of these positions may be made out as follows:

I. Each of the first four of these Epistles contains internal evidence of two facts respecting the situation of the writer when he wrote them; first, that he was in confinement; secondly, that he was in confinement at Rome ^u.

II. The remarkable coincidence, both in sentiments and language, between the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Epistle to the Colossians, is sufficient to demonstrate that both were written together; and the identity of the person, by whom they were sent, is a still more decisive intimation that they were sent together ^v.

III. If it is reasonable to suppose that Epaphras, who is mentioned by that name in the Epistle to the Colossians, and Epaphroditus, who is mentioned by that in the Epistle to the Philippians, are one and the same person, (which I think cannot *well* be disputed,) then this Epaphras, or Epaphroditus, was one of the church of Colossæ; and he had come to Rome before the Epistle to the Colossians was written; and he was left at Rome when that Epistle was sent ^{w*}.

† As Epaphras would thus be Nymphas, for Nymphodorus, only an abbreviated form of the Apollos, for Apollonius, Zenas the name of Epaphroditus, (like for Zenodorus, Artemas for Ar-

^u Ephes. iii. 1. 13. vi. 19, 20. Col. i. 24. ii. 1. iv. 3, 9, 10. 18. Philem. 9, 10. 13. Philipp. i. 7. 12, 13, 14. 20. 26. 30. ii. 12. 23, 24. 26, 27. ^v Ephes. vi. 21, 22. Col. iv. 7, 8. ^w Col. i. 7. iv. 12, 13.

Nor is there any reason to suppose that he had yet been taken ill. But before the Epistle to the Philippians was written he had certainly fallen sick; and on recovering from his sickness he was sent back with the Epistle to Philippi^x. If so, and if Epaphroditus in the Epistle to the Philippians is the same person with Epaphras in the Epistle to the Colossians; the former Epistle was both written and sent some time or other after the former. Epaphroditus, it is true, came to Rome charged with the contributions of Philippi to the relief of Paul's pecuniary wants^x; but he seems to have done this as a voluntary commission^y, which any one, if he was so inclined, might undertake; and he seems to have been on his way through Philippi somewhere else when he undertook it, as even a native or inhabitant of Colossæ might be. Nor is there any expression respecting Epaphroditus, in the Epistle to the Philippians, which would identify him with that church, as there is concerning Epaphras, in the Epistle to the Colossians, which proves *him* to have belonged to that^z.

IV. For the same reason, the Epistle to the Philippians was later than the Epistle to Philemon; for

temidorus, Antipas for Antipater, Menas for Menodorus, Metras for Metrodorus, Theudas for Theodosius, &c. Cf. Theophylact, iii. 384. A. in secundam Petri, i. 1. Œcumenius in Novum Testamentum, ii. 529. B. in secundam Petri, i. 1, &c.) it may be, because he was a native of Colossæ, that St. Paul, writing to the Colossians, calls him by the more familiar name of Epaphras; but when speaking of him to the Philippians,

whose fellow-townsmen he was not, gives him the more formal name of Epaphroditus.

I consider it no objection that, Philemon 23, Epaphras is called Paul's *fellow-prisoner*. It is added, "in Christ Jesus;" and that St. Paul might describe by such terms, only the spiritual bond of a community of faith, or the voluntary sympathy and attachment of one friend in behalf of another—appears from Rom. xvi. 7: Coloss. iv. 10.

^x Philipp. ii. 25, 26. 30. iv. 18.

^y Philipp. ii. 25, 29, 30.

^z Col. iv. 12.

Onesimus, himself a member of the church of Colossæ, was sent to Colossæ along with Tychicus, as joint bearer of the Epistle; and he was sent at the same time with the Epistle to Philemon; and the mention of Archippus in both these Epistles alike, with the allusion to the church in his house, is a proof that all these parties, Onesimus, Philemon, and Archippus, belonged to the Colossian church alike^a. These two Epistles then, Colossians and Philemon, were certainly written and sent together; and the name of Timothy is premised to them both; and the names of Epaphras, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, and Lucas, are all subjoined to them both^b. If so, they were both written before the Epistle to the Philippians; and the only question remaining is first, whether they were both written *before*, or both written *after* the Epistle to the Ephesians, or both at the same time with that; and secondly, at what period of St. Paul's two years' imprisonment they must each have been written respectively.

Now there are two or three reasons more particularly, which may incline us to place the Epistle to the Ephesians at the head of the rest in point of time: first, because the Epistle to the Colossians resembles an epitome of it, or in those parts where they most agree together is the shorter and conciser of the two: secondly, because there is no mention of Epaphras in the Epistle to the Ephesians, as there is in the Epistle to the Colossians: and thirdly, because there is no mention of Timothy in the Epistle to the Ephesians, as there is in every other of the Epistles, written from Rome on this occasion, besides. In the Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Philippians

^a Col. iv. 9. 17. Philem. 2. 10.
14. Philem. 23, 24.

^b Col. i. 1. Philem. 1. Col. iv. 10. 12.

respectively, his name is combined with St. Paul's at the outset of the Epistles themselves. It is morally certain then that, had he been present when the Epistle to the Ephesians was written, his name would have appeared at the head of that likewise. And with respect to Epaphras, it was from him that St. Paul heard of the faith of the Colossians^c; and this fact appears in the Epistle: and it was from some quarter or other that he heard of the faith of the parties addressed in the Epistle to the Ephesians, but not as it appears from Epaphras. I infer, then, that between the time of St. Paul's writing the Epistle to the Ephesians, and that of his writing the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon respectively, both Epaphras and Timothy came to Rome; and I see no reason to suppose that they might not come in conjunction. They seem both to have been at Philippi together, before the mission of Epaphroditus in particular from thence^d.

It is clear that Timothy did not accompany St. Paul to Rome, but only Aristarchus of Thessalonica and St. Luke^e. It is clear also that, when the last of these Epistles, viz. that to the Philippians, was written, Timothy was free and at large; and yet, from the Epistle to the Hebrews^f, it seems equally clear that he must sometime have been in confinement at Rome. The Epistle to the Ephesians then was written just before Timothy and Epaphroditus arrived from Philippi; and the Epistles to Colossæ, and to Philemon, just after. Now Philemon is told to provide Paul a lodging^g; and though this does not imply that he was then at liberty, or might be expected immediately to return to Asia, yet I think it must imply that humanly

^c Col. i. 4. 7, 8, 9.

^d Philipp. ii. 19—24.

^e Acts xxvii. 2.

^f xiii. 23.

speaking he believed he should soon be set at liberty; and consequently might be expected to return in the course of time. The same kind of anticipation is expressed in the Epistle to the Philippians ^b.

It is hereby implied, therefore, that St. Paul's two years' imprisonment was drawing to a close: and if this was actually the case when he addressed the words in question to Philemon, it follows as a necessary consequence, that all these Epistles were written within the last twelve months of the imprisonment, U. C. 813: the Epistle to the Ephesians probably about midsummer, just before the time when Timothy and Epaphroditus were most likely to arrive in Italy from Asia; the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon just after that time; but all three early enough to be sent to their respective destinations by a common bearer: and the Epistle to the Philippians last of all, after Epaphroditus had fallen sick and recovered; which sickness, if we may hazard a conjecture, is a proof that it was written and sent about the autumnal quarter of the year. For it is by no means improbable that his sickness was a fever, due to the peculiar unhealthiness of Rome at the close of the summer quarter*. Nor is it any objection that the Philippians

* Horace, *Epistolæ*, i. vii. 2. 5.
Sextilem totum mendax deside-
ror . . . |
. . . | . . . dum ficus prima,
calorque | Designatorem decorat
lictioribus atris, &c. Cf. i. xvi. 16:
and *Carminum* ii. xiv. 15, 16:
Sermonum ii. vi. 19: *Georgica*, iii.
479: and *Servii Comm.* in loc.:
Statius, Silvæ, ii. i. 215—217.

Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, ii. 315:
Sæpe sub autumnum, cum for-
mosissimus annus, | Plenaque

purpureo subrubet uva mero: |
Cum modo frigoribus premitur,
modo solvitur æstu, | Aëre non
certo corpora languor habet.

On one occasion, Suetonius,
Nero, 39: Tacitus *Annales*, xvi.
13. U. C. 818, mention occurs of
a mortality which began at Rome
in the autumn, and swept away
30,000 victims.

The rising of the dog-star was
another unhealthy period. Phil-
argyrius, ad *Georgica*, iv. 425:

^b Chap. i. 26, 27. ii. 23, 24.

are supposed to have heard of his illness before the Epistle was written ⁱ. This might easily be the case; nor is it said or implied that any thing had since been heard from them. They might have had *one* account from Rome, sent or carried by some persons who left it *while* Epaphroditus was sick; which account upon his recovery was speedily followed by the Epistle; but it is not said that either St. Paul or he had had any account in return from them. The anxiety of Epaphroditus was naturally produced by the circumstance that he knew they might already have heard of his illness: (an illness too to which he had exposed himself, though not a Philippian, for their sake; to supply the lack of their service; that is, in performing what was necessary to the completion and effect of the service which they wished to render to St. Paul;) but that they could not yet have heard of his recovery.

It follows, consequently, that St. Paul wrote no Epistles in the first year of his imprisonment; nor perhaps was it *a priori* to be expected that he would do so. The practice of corresponding by letter with the churches, especially those of their own planting and where they had preached in person, was not the familiar usage of the Apostles: nor do we find them resorting to it, except upon grave and even unavoidable occasions. Now such occasions were not likely to occur in the first year of St. Paul's imprisonment; particularly if, as I think there is reason to be-

Hac oriente maximi calores et ex his graves morbi: ideoque Romæ omnibus annis sacrum Canarium fit per publicos sacerdotes. Servius, ad Æneid. iii. 141: Syrius stella est in ore Canis posita: quæ annis omnibus oritur circa octavum Kalendas Ju-

lii: quæ orta plerumque pestilentiam toto anno facit; plerumque paucis diebus; interdum innoxia nascitur. Cf. Æneid. x. 273, and Servius in loc. Scholia, ad Arati Phænomena, 333. and ad Germanici Aratea Phænomena, 282. 332.

ⁱ Chap. ii. 26.

lieve, all the letters which he wrote to parts beyond the sea, or to churches in remote situations, for the convenience and facility of transmission, were written and dispatched in the spring or summer quarter of the year.

Before we dismiss the consideration of these four Epistles, we may make some observations on the Epistle to the Ephesians in particular. The internal evidence of that Epistle, without any other proof, ought to satisfy every one who is acquainted with the previous history of St. Paul, that it is improperly so entitled. The language addressed to the persons for whom it was intended^k, could not be the language in which St. Paul would naturally address the church of Ephesus above all others; a church of his own planting, and where three years of his personal ministry day and night had been spent not long before; to whose elders he delivered a parting address, in the course of that very journey to Jerusalem, which ended in his imprisonment at Rome; and who were doubtless well aware of every thing which had befallen him since. The Epistle to the Ephesians, in these and other respects, is absolutely a twin Epistle to the Epistle to the Colossians; and that Epistle, as we have the writer's own assurance for knowing, was written to a church which had never seen his face in the flesh^l. Let the strain of each of these Epistles be carefully contrasted with that of the Epistle to the Philippians; written soon after them both, but confessedly to a church, (like that of Ephesus,) which St. Paul himself had planted. Every thing in the one is in character with that fact; every thing in the other two is out of character as referred to it. There is not a syllable in the Epistle to the Philippians which is not strictly ap-

^k Ephes. i. 13, 14, 15. iii. 1—9—iv. 21.

^l Col. ii. 1.

plicable to the preceding and existing relations of the writer and of the parties addressed ; or rather, which without that knowledge of the past and the present history of each, supplied to us by the Acts, would not be almost unintelligible at the present day, instead of appearing as it does so apposite and natural, so beautiful and pathetic, and yet so unstudied and inartificial. Not so the Epistle nominally addressed to the Ephesians. Every thing passes there not as between teachers and converts, bound together by mutual ties of acquaintance, good offices, and endearment ; but as between strangers in the flesh, though brethren in Christ : and every thing there also is just and natural on that supposition, but quite the reverse upon the contrary.

If the words, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, did not appear in the front of the Epistle, no one would suspect its relation to that church in particular : and as to the right of the words to stand where they do, we may be satisfied with referring the reader to the critical editions of the Epistle. It is sufficient for us to observe that, in an Epistle designed to be *catholic* whether in a more or a less extended sense, and consequently not meant to be confined to one community of Christians more than another ; the words of the exordium, without ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, viz. τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, To the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus, *who are*, would be as appropriate as any which could have been chosen. There were persons in the time of Jerome, who understood τοῖς οὖσιν accordingly. The grounds of this opinion are ascertained by Basil against Eunomius ; viz. in the absence of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ and the presence of τοῖς οὖσιν, ἀπλῶς, in ancient copies, which he himself had seen. It is manifestly absurd to understand his testimony in any other sense ; since he declares that it had

been so handed down by those before him, and that he had found it so himself in ancient copies *.

Now what had these predecessors of Basil delivered, and what had he found himself in ancient copies? What he had found in these ancient copies was, τοῖς ἀγίοις, τοῖς οὖσιν—ἰδιαζόντως; that is, without

* The entire passage from Basil is as follows: Operum ii. 57. C. D: Contra Eunomium, ii.

Καὶ γάρ που καὶ ἐτέρωθι ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀπόστολος, ὁ ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ λαλῶν, μὴ ὄντα ὀνομάζει τὰ ἔθνη, διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστερησθαι, εἰπὼν· ὅτι τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ ζωὴ ὁ Θεός, οἱ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὄντι μὴ ἡνωμένοι κατὰ τὴν πίστιν, τῇ δὲ ἀνυπαρξίᾳ τοῦ ψεύδους οἰκειωθέντες διὰ τῆς περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα πλάνης, εἰκότως, οἶμαι, διὰ τὴν στέρησιν τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἀλλοτριώσιν, μὴ ὄντες προσηγορεύθησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐπιστέλλων, ὡς γνησίως ἡνωμένοις τῷ ὄντι δι' ἐπιγνώσεως, ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὀνόμασεν, εἰπὼν· τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδώκασι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὐρήκαμεν.

Hieronymus, Operum iv. Pars i. 323. *ad medium*: In Ephes. i: Quidam curiosius quam necesse est putant ex eo quod Moysi dictum sit: Hæc dices filiis Israel: Qui est misit me; etiam eos qui Ephesi sunt sancti et fideles, essentiae vocabulo nuncupatos. ut quomodo a sancto sancti, a justo iusti, a sapientia sapientes; ita ab eo qui est, hi qui sunt appellantur, et juxta eundem Apostolum elegisse Deum ea quæ non erant, ut destrueret ea quæ erant . . . alii vero simpliciter

non ad eos qui sunt, sed qui Ephesi sancti et fideles sint, scriptum arbitrantur.

Without supposing this use of τοῖς οὖσιν, ἀπλῶς, to have any reference to the text in Exodus; it may still be insisted on as parallel to the following examples: Acts v. 17: ἡ οὖσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων—Acts xiii. 1: κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν—Acts xxviii. 17: τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτους—Romans xiii. 1: αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι.—Ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔσθλα μαθήσεται· ἦν δὲ κακοῖσι | συμμιχθῆς, ἀπολείς καὶ τὸν ἑόντα νόον. Theognis, 35—Τὴν μὲν οὖσαν ἡμέραν | μόλις κατέσχον, κ', τ. λ. Sophocles, Oedip. Tyr. 781—Τὰς οὖσας τ' ἐμοῦ | καὶ τὰς ἀπούσας ἑλπίδας διέφθορεν. Electra, 305—Μηδὲ πρὸς κακοῖσι | τοῖς οὖσι, λύπην πρὸς γ' ἐμοῦ λύπης λάβοι. Trachiniæ, 330—Ἐνεστι γὰρ τις καὶ λόγοισιν ἡδονὴ | λήθην ὅταν ποιῶσι τῶν ὄντων κακῶν. Thyestes, apud Stobæum—Σῶσαι τόδ' εὐρημ' ἐς τὸν ὄντα νῦν χρόνον. Euripides, Ion, 1348—Τὸν ὄντα δ' εἶσει μῦθον. Electra, 344—Thucydides, vi. 92: τὴν τε οὖσαν καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δύναμιν—Maximus Tyrius, Dissertatio xxiii. 4: τὰς οὖσας περὶ θεῶν δόξας—Artemidorus, Oneirocritica, ii. 37: καὶ ἡ οὖσα (scil. σελήνη) ὅταν ἀπολλύηται: iii. 45: τῆς οὖσης εὐπρεπείας παραιρούμενα: iv. 18: τῆς τε οὖσης πολυτελεστέραν: ibid. 23: τῶν δὲ ὄντων ὀνειρών.

ἐν Ἐφέσῳ : and what his predecessors had handed down was the reason of this peculiarity, such as he just before stated. It is ridiculous to suppose that he would mention the testimony of manuscripts, except for a various reading ; or the testimony of the more ancient manuscripts, except for a various reading which differed from that in the modern. The opponents of our opinion suppose τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ to have been *always* the reading ; and if so, in ancient copies as well as in modern. What then could Basil find in the former, which was not also in the latter ? and if there was no difference between them, why should he oppose one to the other ; or why in fact should he appeal to manuscripts at all ? It is of little importance, therefore, that the words in question are said to be found in all the manuscripts of the New Testament now extant ; for there is no manuscript now extant whose age is as great as that of Basil ; and in Basil's time, the more ancient manuscripts were, the more as it seems were they free from this interpolation. Yet this reading is not strictly speaking in the Vatican.

It is also with singular infelicity, that the authority of Ignatius has been pressed into the service of the opposite side ; as if he recognised the Epistle to the Ephesians by that name and with that designation in his own time. This inference is founded on the allusion, in *his* Epistle to the Ephesians, to St. Paul ; followed soon after by the words, ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ *. We need not say any thing here of the opinion of those who would read μνημονεύω instead of μνημονεύει, and consequently refer

* Patres Apostolici, 856. E. 857. A. Epistola ad Ephes. xii : Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ ἁγιοσμένου, τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου, ἀξ-

ιομακαρίστου, οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἔχνη εὐρεθῆναι ὅτ' ἂν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχῶ· ὃς ἐν πάσῃ κ', τ. λ.

the words to Ignatius himself, and not to St. Paul: we may contend only that, the text being taken as it stands, it cannot be rendered otherwise than, Who in every epistle maketh mention of you in Christ Jesus: a rendering which will necessarily imply that no one epistle is meant more than another. There is the same difference in Greek between ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ, and ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, as in Latin between *in omni epistola*, and *in tota epistola**; and the old translator of the Epistle into Latin, whosoever he was, so far shews that he had a more correct knowledge of Greek than Dr. Lardner and others, by rendering the passage accordingly: *Qui in omni epistola memoriam facit vestri in Jesu Christo*°.

It is an acknowledged principle of Greek construction that the article is indispensable with a particular and specific reference, as this is supposed to be to one certain epistle of St. Paul's, among the complex of his epistles in general. The reference here is equivalent to a quotation; and the article can never be dispensed with before a quotation. The two passages which Dr. Lardner has cited^p, as instances of what he considers a similar construction, one from the fifth chapter of Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians, and the other from Ephesians ii. 21, are very unfortunately chosen; since when they are properly rendered they both make against himself.

With respect to the first, καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας; it would betray a great ignorance of the proper meaning of the word ἐκκλησία, and equal inattention to its primitive use, to restrict it every where to the specific

* Servius ad *Æneid.* i. 185: Inter *totum* et *omne* hoc interest; quod *totum* dicimus unius corporis plenitudinem; *omne* de universis dicimus: ut puta: *totum*

auditorium habet scholasticos, hoc est, plenum est auditorium scholasticis: *omne* auditorium habet scholasticos, id est, omnia auditoria.

° Patres Apostolici, 944. E.

^p Credibility, xvi. chap. 13. 398.

sense of what *we* mean by *the Church*; when it is much oftener to be understood simply of *an assembly* or *congregation*. Used in the former sense, it might require the article with $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$; used in the latter, it does not. The passage, then, ought to be rendered, If *the* prayer of one or two is of so great force, how much more both that of the bishop, and of all an assembly*.

With respect to the latter, the Vulgate text reads *πάσα ἡ οἰκοδομή*, as it is ; but admitting that the article, on the authority of the best manuscripts, ought to be rejected, still we may reply as before ; that St. Paul is speaking of no particular building, and therefore needed not to employ the article : on the contrary, he is speaking of any such *οἰκοδομή*, *ἀπλῶς* ; and therefore was bound to leave it out. For this *οἰκοδομή* is a description of the visible church ; which visible church is every where founded on one and the same *θεμέλιον* or base, the Apostles and Prophets ; and is cemented by one and the same corner stone, Jesus Christ ; but consists itself of an infinite number of particular buildings, as many as there are particular Christian societies ; any one of the former of which may be called *a building*, or *οἰκοδομή*, *συναρμολογουμένη ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*, just on the same principle that any of the latter may be called *a Church*.

Now it is indisputably clear from Colossians iv. 16, that, at the same time when St. Paul wrote or dispatched the Epistle to the Colossians, he wrote and dispatched an Epistle to the church of Laodicea;

* Εἰ γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχῇ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας: Ad Ephes. v. Patres Apostolici, 855. A. It is observable that the longer epistle in the corresponding place has πάσης τῆς. Chrysostom, Operum i.

469. D. De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, Homilia iii. 6. falls undesignedly into the same sentiment, and almost into the same expressions: *εἰ δὲ εὐχὴ μόνου τοσαύτην ἔχει δύναμιν, πολλὰ μάλ' ἢ μετὰ πλήθους.*

which Epistle, in point of time, must consequently have synchronized with the Epistle to the Ephesians; and which, it is needless to observe, must either be the same with the Epistle to the Ephesians, or have perished. The reputed existence of such an Epistle is a very ancient tradition of ecclesiastical history. An Epistle of that name was admitted by Marcion into *his* canon of Scripture; and one is alluded to in the very antique fragment ascribed to the Latin Presbyter Caius^q; the author of which, whosoever he was, was contemporary with Pius, the tenth Bishop of Rome, and flourished early in the second century *. The name of Laodicea occurs five

* Reliquiæ Sacræ, iv. 5. l. 11: the author of this fragment speaks of an Epistle to the Laodiceans, it is true, and bearing the name of St. Paul; but, p. 4, line 31, he distinguishes it from that to the Ephesians, and ascribes it to Marcion and his followers. He speaks also of an apocryphal epistle to the Alexandrians.

An Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans is mentioned, over and above the rest of the canonical books of the New Testament, in the Tractatus of Ælfricus Abbas, De Vetere et Novo Testamento. Reliquiæ Sacræ, iv. 25. 12.

Tertullian, i. 425. Contra Marcionem, v. 11: Prætereo hic et de alia epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios perscriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodiceanos.

Ibid. 448. cap. 17: Ecclesiæ quidem veritate, epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit. These testimonies would imply that Marcion's epistle to the Laodiceans was ac-

tually the canonical epistle to the Ephesians, with the title only changed.

Epiphanius, among the *ten* Epistles of St. Paul, received by Marcion, mentions the Ephesians as the seventh in order: i. 309. D. 310. A. Marcionistæ, ix. Yet he says he had besides καὶ τῆς πρὸς Λαοδικέας λεγομένης μέρος. This statement is repeated 321. D. where the Epistle to the Ephesians is notwithstanding mentioned as well. 374. B. a verse from it, as received by Marcion, is quoted, which agrees substantially with what occurs in the Epistle to the Ephesians.

Hieronymus, iv. Pars ii. 104. De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, v: Legunt quidam et ad Laodiceenses, sed ab omnibus exploditur. Theodorit, iii. 501. in Epist. ad Coloss. iv. 16: τινὲς ὑπέλαβον καὶ πρὸς Λαοδικέας αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι· αὐτίκα τοίνυν καὶ προσφέρουσι πεπλασμένην ἐπιστολήν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἔφη καὶ τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικέας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικέας· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἔργων ἔγραψαν. εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τὰ ἐν Κολασσαῖς γερόμενα αἰτιάσασθαι,

times in the Epistle to the Colossians^r; and once it is classed with Colossæ and Hierapolis also; both cities of Phrygia, as well as Laodicea, and both contiguous to each other and to it^r. It is clearly implied of this city, as well as of Colossæ and of Hierapolis, that it had never seen Paul's face in the flesh: nor do we know that during the whole of his residence at Ephesus he preached in the province of Asia, distinct from Ephesus; that is out of Ephesus itself^s *. It is also

ἡ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς νεοσηκέναι. διὸ καὶ ταύτην εἶπε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν (that to the Colossians) καὶ τοῖς ἀναγνωσθῆναι. The distinction which Theodorit draws here between πρὸς Λαοδικεῖας and ἐκ Λαοδικεῖας is not a very happy one: and when he further supposes that the Laodiceans had themselves previously written to St. Paul, he supposes that of which there is no evidence whatever.

An Epistola ad Laodiceanos is extant in Latin; and a Greek Epistle under the same name, may be seen in the Codex Apocryphus of Fabricius: p. 873—879.

* I consider it no objection to this assertion that Philemon, in the Epistle which bears his name, is told that he owed even himself to St. Paul (19.) though this should be thought to imply that he was converted by St. Paul: and though it should also be conceded that Philemon belonged to Colossæ. It would not follow of necessity that he was converted at Colossæ: it would be equally probable that he might have been converted at Ephesus. My opinion, however, is that he was converted at Rome;

after Onesimus, who was his slave and had accompanied him thither, had run away from him there: and when he was gone back to Colossæ, Onesimus, who might be already acquainted with St. Paul, by some fortunate coincidence was also reclaimed to a sense of his duty by St. Paul; and was sent home again, a convert to the gospel, with the intercessory letter to his master.

It contributes strongly to confirm this conjecture, that Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, addresses them as follows: Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis, vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus: qui estis in principio Epistolæ ejus. de vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus Ecclesiis, quæ Deum solæ tunc cognoverant: nos autem nondum noveramus: cap. xi. apud veterem interpretem. Patres Apostolici, 1013. B. Now if Smyrna, of which Polycarp was bishop when he wrote these words, had not yet received the gospel when St. Paul was writing to the Philippians, much less any city, still more remote from Ephesus, and less connected with it than Smyrna was.

^r Col. ii. 1. iv. 13. 15, 16. Cf. Strabo, xii. 8. §. 13. 228, 229. §. 16. 236, 237. §. 17. 239. xiii. 4. §. 14. 484, 485. ^s Acts xix. 10—26. xx. 18. 20. 31. 34.

implied that, to whomsoever St. Paul wrote in the Epistle to the Ephesians, he had only just heard of the reception of the gospel and of its success among them; and the same thing is true of the Epistle to the Colossians, concerning whose faith and gospel proficiency he had lately received information from their fellow-townsmen or fellow-citizen Epaphras^t: and it was the pleasure which these tidings gave him that produced the Epistles to each. All this is very conceivable of an Epistle addressed to Laodicea, but perfectly incredible of an Epistle directed to the Ephesians.

It is much more reasonable, to suppose that the present Epistle to the Ephesians is miscalled, than to assume an Epistle to the Laodiceans, which once did exist, but has since been lost. The mistake, which assigns it to Ephesus, though undoubtedly an ancient one, might be produced by this fact; viz. that it was sent by Tychicus, whom 2 Tim. iv. 12, appears to represent as an Ephesian; though whether he was so or not must always be doubtful; for Acts xx. 4, describes him merely as one of the province of Asia; and from a comparison with xxi. 29, and 2 Tim. iv. 20, we might just as much conclude that he was a Milesian. It might contribute to the same mistake, that the Second Epistle to Timothy, which was certainly written from Rome, and speaks of Tychicus' being sent from Rome, as it seems, to Ephesus, was supposed by many anciently, as well as in modern times, to have been written during St. Paul's first imprisonment; at which time the Epistle to the Ephesians was certainly both written and sent.

It is possible, indeed, that the Epistle was sent originally both to Hierapolis and Laodicea in conjunction; and that the name of either in particular was

^t Ephes. i. 15—iv. 20. 21. Col. i. 4—9. 23. ii. 6—8. iv. 12, 13.

not at first inserted, because it was intended for each ; though, as to conjecturing that it was a circular Epistle, designed for a number of churches, if Ephesus was one of that number, and they were not exclusively Hierapolis, Laodicea, and Colossæ ; this conjecture can never resolve the difficulty, but leaves it open to as many perplexities as before. I shall conclude then with one more remark. Laodicea of Phrygia was one of the cities, which in the first half of the seventh of Nero, U. C. 813, were overthrown by an earthquakeⁿ ; from the effects of which however it recovered of itself. If there is no allusion to any such event in the Epistle, it is because, as we have already had reason to conclude, the Epistle must have been written before it happened*.

Again ; with regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which has been ascribed to so many authors, to Barnabas, to Clement, to Luke, to Apollos† : it is the

* The earthquake at Laodicea might have happened about midsummer, U. C. 813, in the last half of the sixth of Nero. The Comitia, alluded to by Tacitus, *loc. cit.*, might be held in July or August. Even thus, the date of the earthquake would be later than that of the Epistle. Yet earthquakes were supposed to be most liable to happen in spring or autumn : Vide Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, ii. 8, p. 62. l. 16, and Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 82. Strabo, xii. 8. §. 16. 237, 238. observes, εἰ γὰρ τις ἄλλη καὶ ἡ Λαοδικεῖα εὐσειστος. It suffered in fact from such convulsions, under both Augustus and Tiberius. See Strabo, *loc. cit.* Eusebius, *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum*, places the earthquake in the ninth of Nero ; two years and

more too late. He joins Hierapolis and Colossæ in the same catastrophe. Marcellinus Comes, also, ad A. D. 494, mentions the overthrow of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and two other cities all at once, by an earthquake in the fourth of Anastasius.

† Clemens Alexandrinus, ii. 1007. l. 46 : Adumbrationes in 1 Petr. v. 14 : Sicut Lucas quoque et Actus Apostolorum stylo exsecutus agnoscitur, et Pauli ad Hebræos interpretatus Epistolam.

The author of the fragment, ascribed to Caius, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, iv. 4, 5, &c. does not reckon up the Epistle to the Hebrews among those of St. Paul. Caius himself did not consider it his. See Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 20, 223. A. and Hieronymus, iv.

ⁿ Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv. 27, 28.

most reasonable of all suppositions, and that which is most in unison with both internal and external testi-

Pars ii. 117. De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, lix. Photius, Codex 48, p. 12, asserts that this statement of Caius was contained in the Dialogue with Proclus, the Montanist, in which he enumerated only thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, not including that to the Hebrews among the rest.

Tertullian, iv. 427. De Pudicitia, 20: Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos...et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore mœchorum.

According to Photius, Codex 121. p. 94. Hippolytus, the bishop and martyr, did not consider the Epistle to the Hebrews to be St. Paul's. Codex 232. p. 291. l. 12, the ἀντικείμενα of Stephen Gobarus assert this both of him and of Irenæus: the contrary of Clemens Romanus and Eusebius; καὶ φασιν, it is added, αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος μεταφράσαι τὸν εἰρημένον Κλήμεντα (that is, Clemens Romanus). Eusebius, E. H. iii. 38, giving an account of the writings of Clemens Romanus, ascribes the reception of the Epistle principally to his authority; and so far leans to the hypothesis that Clemens, not St. Luke, was the translator of it, as to perceive a resemblance between the style of the Greek of the Epistle, and that of Clement to the Romans. The author of the Hypotyposes, on the contrary, thought the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews resembled that of the Acts; see Eusebius, E. H. vi. 14. 215. C. D.

Hieronymus, i. Paulino: Pau-

lus Apostolus ad septem scribit Ecclesias: octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur. Operum ii. 608—*ad calcem*; Epp. Criticæ: Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc Epistolam quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab Ecclesiis orientis, sed ab omnibus retro Ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis Scriptoribus quasi Pauli Apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ, vel Clementis arbitrentur: et nihil interesse cujus sit, quum Ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie Ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas canonicas; nec Græcorum quidem Ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt, et tamen nos utramque suscipimus: nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum Scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniiis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent (quippe qui et gentilium litterarum (*supple non*) raro utantur exemplis) sed quasi Canonicis et Ecclesiasticis. Cf. iii. 684. *ad medium*: in Jerem. xxxi: iv. Pars i. 125. *ad calcem*, 126. *ad principium*, in Matt. xxvi: Pars ii. 574. *ad medium*, Epp. l. Pars ii^a. 103. De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, v: Epistola autem quæ fertur ad Hebræos non ejus creditur, propter styli sermonisque dissonantiam; sed vel Barnabæ, juxta Tertullianum; vel Lucæ Evangelistæ, juxta quosdam; vel Clementis, Romanæ postea Ecclesiæ Episcopi, quem aiunt ipsi

mony, to conclude that it was itself the authentic production of St. Paul; composed, like the Gospel of St. Matthew, as was naturally to be expected, originally in the vernacular language of the Hebrew church, to which it was addressed; and, like St. Matthew's Gospel also, was afterwards translated into Greek: which translation, if we must acquiesce in some one of the various conjectures which have been, or may be formed concerning its author, I should be more inclined to ascribe to St. Luke, than to any other source. We can find nothing in the Epistle, which may be considered to militate against the supposition that it was the work of St. Paul, except this one passage: Πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφευξόμεθα, τηλικαύτης ἀμελήσαντες σωτηρίας; ἥτις, ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα λαλεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβεβαιώθη^v: in which the writer, whosoever he was, appears to identify himself with the hearers only of the Apostles. But even St. Paul might express himself in this way συγκαταβητικῶς; especially as one who was not by his office, and who nowhere represents himself as an Apostle of the Circumcision; but on the other hand both was by his office, and according to his own uniform representation of himself is said to be the Apostle, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, of the Uncircumcision. In this way it is that the Apostles may often be found identifying themselves with their converts; and expressing sentiments as applicable both to them and

adjunctum sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone.

Theodorit, iii. 544. Præfatio in Epistolam ad Hebr. : γέγραφε δὲ αὐτὴν (ὁ Παῦλος) τῇ Ἑβραίων φωνῇ· ἐρμηνευθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν φασιν ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος. Cf. Œcumenius

in Novum Testamentum, ii. 312. C. who adds, Luke. So likewise Origen, according to Eusebius, E. H. vi. xxv. 227. *ad finem*. Cf. also the Reliquiæ Sacræ, i. 472, and Œcumenius, loco citato, ii. 313, D. 314, A.

themselves in common, which strictly construed apply only to the parties addressed. It is still true that St. Paul, though he might receive his commission from our Lord himself, and be made acquainted with Christian facts and doctrines by direct inspiration from above; had never heard our Lord or seen him, while he was conversant in his ministry upon earth. The same consideration of what he himself was by his office, and what they were whom he was about to address, might give occasion also to the omission of his name, and of the usual form of his salutations, at the head of the Epistle; but, as to supposing that he was writing anonymously, and that the Hebrew Christians did not very well know from what source the Epistle emanated; it is both absurd in itself, and directly contradicted by the Epistle.

The time and the circumstances when, and under which, it was written, are a more uncertain, and so far a more important point, than the question who was its author: and yet, with respect to these, we may safely collect first, that it was written from some part or other of Italy, but not as it appears from Rome; secondly, it was written when the author himself was at large, but before he had returned to Judæa; thirdly, it was written just after the release of Timothy, who must consequently have been previously in confinement; and while the writer was waiting somewhere or other in Italy, expecting that he would come to him shortly, but not without some degree of uncertainty as to whether he would or not, before the time when he himself must be departing^w.

Now if our conjecture before stated, with respect to the first arrival of Timothy at Rome, was correct, he did not arrive there before the middle of U. C. 813;

^w Hebr. xiii. 24. 23. 19. 23.

that is, the last half of the sixth of Nero; and when he arrived there he certainly did not arrive as a prisoner. But if there be any meaning in this allusion of the writer to the Hebrews to the fact of his being released or set at liberty; it must imply that he was previously in confinement: it is absolutely impossible that he could otherwise have been released. It follows, then, that between the time of the arrival of Timothy at Rome, (soon after which the Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Philippians were all written, and at the moment of writing which Timothy was at large,) and the time of writing the Epistle to the Hebrews, when he had been just released, he must have been imprisoned, or in some manner or other put under restraint at Rome.

It is no objection to the fact of such an imprisonment that we have no account of it in the Acts; for the history of the Acts probably expires before it took place: nor, indeed, is there any mention in the Acts of any thing, which happened at Rome, during St. Paul's two years' sojourn there, excepting the little which transpired at the very beginning of the period*.

* I am aware that the words in the original, which I understand to speak of Timothy's release from confinement, are construed by many commentators, of *his having taken his leave, set out on his journey*—and the like. The verb, ἀπολύω, is certainly so used, in the first sentence of the song of Symeon; though even there it has still ultimately the same proper notion of release or liberation.

Without entering upon the critical discussion of the term, I will observe only that the construction in question involves

an absurdity, of which we cannot suppose that the writer himself could be guilty. If all that the words imply, is the fact that Timothy had set out from *some* quarter, upon *some* journey, why does he add, that if he joined him in time, they would both endeavour to revisit Judæa in company? "If he come quickly." If the writer himself was in Italy, waiting to be joined by Timothy, knowing that Timothy was already on his road to him, he could scarcely speak in terms of so much uncertainty about his joining

For the same reason, neither can any objection to this fact be taken from Philippians ii. 19—24, and much less from Philemon 22. The actual imprisonment of Timothy, if it ever happened, must have happened after each of these Epistles; and it is manifestly possible that St. Paul, who was still uncertain about the issue of things as it concerned himself^x, might labour under a similar uncertainty respecting the disposal of Timothy. It is by no means certain that, much as might be revealed upon some subjects to the Apostles, they were aware beforehand of every thing which should happen to themselves; and much less to their friends or followers. That perfect knowledge of the future was the prerogative of our Saviour only. We have St. Paul's assurance to the elders of the Ephesian church, that he was then going up to Jerusalem, not knowing the things which should happen to him there: and though he adds, Save that the Holy Ghost witnessed in every city that bonds and tribulations awaited him; this does not alter the truth of the assurance: for it is abundantly clear from a comparison with other passages, that he means by this witnessing, no revelations made to himself, but communications made to others in different cities, and through them to himself^y.

And this, in defect of any other, would still be a

him, within a certain time, or not. Not so, however, if he merely knew that he was at liberty to set out; that he was his own master, and might travel in any direction, and within whatever time, he pleased. He might know thus much about him; and yet not know whether

he would make such an use of his freedom, and with such dispatch, as to join himself by a given time; especially if he had himself only a set time to wait in, whereas Timothy was not obliged to be gone from wherever he was, within a certain time.

^x Philipp. i. 27. ii. 23.

^y Acts xx. 22, 23. xxi. 4. 11.

sufficient answer to the inference deducible from Acts xx. 25 ; as though, after such a declaration, St. Paul never could visit Ephesus again. The inference, however, goes on the supposition that the words are to be rendered ; And now, behold, I know that *none* of you, among whom I went preaching the kingdom of God, will see my face again : whereas, it is my own conviction both from the order of the terms, and from the emphasis laid on the *ὅμεις πάντες*, that they ought to be rendered ; And now, behold, I know that ye will not *all* of you, among whom I went preaching the kingdom of God, see my face again. The fulfilment of this prediction would require no more than that some of the persons, then present, should never see St. Paul again. And this might easily be the case ; for between the time of this address, U. C. 809, and that when St. Paul was first at liberty to come back to Asia in U. C. 816, there were eight years complete, or nearly so at least : and in eight years' time, great changes might take place any where and in any society.

In fact it must have been the case : for first, after St. Paul's departure, grievous wolves were to come among the church of Ephesus, who should not spare the flock ; and, secondly, St. Paul was addressing the elders of the Ephesian church, and them, as it would seem, exclusively. Ephesus then and its church, at this time, were not in want of elders ; but when St. Paul wrote his First to Timothy, which was long after this time, Ephesus and its church were either still in want of elders, or had but recently been supplied therewith. What then had become of the elders whom he was now addressing ? could all be still alive, or still present in Ephesus ? Is it not a natural inference that between the time of this address and the date of the Epistle to Timothy, the previously undis-

turbed and quiet order of the Ephesian church had been agitated in some manner or other, and the integrity of its community had suffered in the loss even of some among its governors themselves; which loss could be repaired only by the appointment of fresh ones?

It is possible then that Timothy, for some reason or other, might be placed in confinement at Rome, after the Epistle to the Philippians itself was written; and if so, in the latter half of U. C. 813, at the earliest: and therefore if *his* imprisonment, *a priori*, was likely to last as long as St. Paul's had done, his release was not to be expected before the same time in U. C. 815, at the soonest. Let us suppose that this was the case; and, consequently, that the Epistle to the Hebrews, written soon after this release, was written either in the last half of U. C. 815, or in the first of U. C. 816. The probability of both these suppositions may be further confirmed as follows.

It is manifest from Rom. xv. 24—28, that St. Paul had projected a visit to Spain, even before he designed to go to Rome; or rather, that the visit to Rome was something *ἐκ παρόργου* with respect to this visit to Spain; something which he intended to do by the way in comparison of that, and over and above, though preparatory to, the execution of his original purpose. And still more evident it is that, for those who were travelling either by land or by sea from Asia, or from Greece, to Spain; Italy in general, and even Rome in particular, would lie directly in the line of the course which they must take.

Now if St. Paul had deliberately conceived the design of such a visit before he went up to Jerusalem; and if he went up to Jerusalem, though with a particular ignorance yet under a general assurance that

bonds and persecutions awaited him ; what reason is there to suppose that the retention of his original design would be prevented by his subsequent imprisonment ? Its execution would necessarily be delayed, so long as his imprisonment lasted ; but when his imprisonment was over, and he was at liberty to go wheresoever he would, the proximity of Spain would be an additional motive to completing his purpose of visiting it. We cannot think St. Paul's intentions of this kind were ever lightly formed, or consequently likely to be easily abandoned : nor perhaps would the implicit assumption of some such fact, in the course of his evangelical ministry after his confinement at Rome, as a visit to Spain, (for which assumption he himself had furnished such strong grounds of credibility *a priori*,) ever have been called into question ; if those, who have treated of the history of St. Paul's ministry, had not almost generally fallen into the mistake of bringing him to Rome too late ; and therefore had not allowed a sufficient interval of time, between the close of his imprisonment and the latest possible date of his death, for the transaction of this purpose, and of many others, which must also have intervened. We have obviated this inconvenience by tracing the commencement of his imprisonment to the spring of U. C. 812, and consequently its termination to that of U. C. 814 : between which, and the earliest date of the close of his ministry which it would be possible to admit, U. C. 818, there is yet four or five years' interval.

The tradition that he visited Spain is one of the most ancient, and perhaps the most authentic, of any such traditions which ecclesiastical history has perpetuated ; for it may be traced up to the time of the presbyter Caius, contemporary with the Roman bishop Pius, who speaks of Paul's departure from the

city to Spain, as a certain and undeniable matter of fact^z; and even beyond his time, to the age of Clement, the second or third bishop of Rome, and the contemporary of St. Paul himself^a. For though Clement does not mention Spain by name, yet if we consider that he was writing from Rome, and that he must be speaking of the *extreme boundary of the west* relatively to the geographical position of Rome; it will be as certain that, by this description of the limits to which St. Paul's personal labours had extended, he meant Spain, as if he had expressly named it*.

* At procul *extremis* terrarum
Cæsar in *oris* | Mortem sævus
agit.— Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iv. 1.
De Hispania.

... *Ultima* nuper | *Litora* terra-
rum, nisi tu Melibœe fuisses, |
Ultima visuri, trucibusque ob-
noxia Mauris | Pascua Geryonis,
liquidis ubi cursibus ingens |
Dicitur occiduas impellere Bætis
arenas. | Scilicet extremo nunc
vilis in orbe jacerem, | Ah dolor!
et pecudes inter conductus Ibe-
ras, | Irrita septena modularer
sibila canna. Calpurnius, *Ecloga*
iv. 38.

Seneca, *Naturalium Quæ-
stionum*, Lib. i. Præfatio, §. 11 :
Quantum enim est, quod ab ul-
timis litoribus Hispaniæ usque
ad Indos jacet? Thus it is, that
Constantine in his circular Epi-
stle, apud Eusebium, *Vita Con-
stantini*, ii. 28. 457. C. describes
the utmost limits of the world to
the west: ὅς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Βρε-
τανούς ἐκείνης θαλάσσης ἀρξάμενος,
καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἔνθα δύνεσθαι τὸν
ἥλιον ἀνάγκη τινὶ τέτακται, κ', τ. λ.
Cf. iv. 9. 531. A: and 50. 551. C.
where the Britons and Indians
are enumerated and opposed to

each other, the one as the last to
the west, the other as the last to
the east. In like manner, Am-
brose, i. 329. D. E. De Abra-
hamo ii. vii. §. 40. commenting
on Genesis xiii. 17. observes :
Utique intra momentum ter-
ram istam Persarum interclusam
imperiis, ab Indiæ quoque litto-
ribus ad Herculis, ut aiunt, co-
lumnas, vel Britanniæ extrema
confinia non potuit perambulare :
which also recognises Spain or
Britain as proverbially the ut-
most bound of the known world
to the west, answering to India
on the east. Cf. Virgil, *Ecloga*
i. 67. Et penitus toto divisos
orbe Britannos.

Μετὰ τὴν διεῖπλιν εἰς Σπανίαν ἀπελ-
θὼν ἐκήρυξε, καὶ ὑποστρέψας εἰς
Ῥώμην ἐμαρτύρησε : Scholium ad
caput ult. Actorum a Matthæi
positum. Cyril of Jerusalem
speaks of Paul's preaching the
gospel in Spain : *Operum* 253. 1. 8.
Catechesis xvii. cap. 13. So like-
wise Epiphanius, i. 107. C. Carpo-
cratiani, vi. Jerome, *Operum* ii.
686. *ad calcem* : Epp. Criticæ :
Paulus sagitta fuit Domini, qui
postquam ab Jerosolymis usque

^z Reliquiæ Sacræ, iv. 4. l. 18.
stola ia. v.

^a Philipp. iv. 3. Clemens Romanus, Epi-

After these two almost contemporaneous testimonies to the fact in question, I should consider it superfluous

ad Illyricum missus arcu Domini, huc illucque volitavit, ad Hispanias ire festinat : ut velox sagitta sub pedibus Domini sui orientem occidentemque proster-
nat—iii. 307, *ad principium*, in Isaïæ xl: Si enim in toto orbe consideremus varias nationes, et ab Oceano usque ad Oceanum, id est, ab Indico mari usque ad Britannicum : &c.—319. *ad calcem*, in Isaïæ xliii: Apostolos enim videns Jesus. . . vocavit. . . ut de piscatoribus piscium faceret hominum piscatores, qui de Jerusalem usque ad Illyricum et Hispanias Evangelium prædicarunt—1412. *ad medium*, in Amos v: Qui (Paulus) vocatus a Domino, effusus est super faciem universæ terræ, ut prædicaret Evangelium de Jerosolymis usque ad Illyricum, et ædificaret non super alterius fundamentum, ubi jam fuerat prædicatum, sed usque ad Hispanias tenderet, et mari rubro imo ab Oceano usque ad Oceanum curreret, imitans Dominum suum et solem justitiæ, de quo legimus: A summo cælo egressio ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus; ut ante eum terra deficeret quam studium prædicandi—iv. Pars i. 178. *ad medium*, Hedibæ: Denique Apostolus Paulus qui de Jerusalem usque ad Illyricum prædicavit, et inde per Romam ad Hispaniam ire festinat, gratias agit Deo : &c.—353. *ad calcem*, in Ephes. iii: Videbat quippe se de Jerusalem usque ad Illyricum Evangelium prædicasse, isse Romam, ad Hispanias vel perrexisse, vel ire disponere—iii. 104. *ad medium*, In Isaïæ xi: Quod de unius Pauli Apostoli

exemplo intelligamus, qui . . . ut ipse scribit, ad Hispanias alienigenarum portatus est navibus.

It has been conjectured that St. Paul wrote this, in some epistle not extant. But his *ipse scribit* may be understood of his writing to the Romans, and telling them that it was his intention to visit Spain by Rome; and the Alienigenarum portatus est navibus, of his being brought to Rome, which was so far on his way to Spain, in ships of the Gentiles; the two last of them ships of Alexandria, the first undoubtedly a Gentile ship also, of some kind or other.

Theodorit, Operum i. 1424, 1425. in Ps. 116: ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παῦλος... ὕστερον μέντοι καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη, καὶ εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀφίκετο, καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμέναις νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκε. The context, however, proves that the assertion of the journey to Spain is founded on St. Paul's declaration to the Romans; and that of the visit to the islands, on his Epistle to Titus, which speaks of his having been in Crete. Theodorit, Operum iii. 451. in Philipp. i. 26: ἐκεῖθεν δὲ (sc. from Rome) εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀπελθὼν, καὶ τὸ θεῖον κἀκείνοις προσεγεγκὼν εὐαγγέλιον, ἐπανήλθε, καὶ τότε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη—695, 696. In 2 ad Tim. iv. 17: ἥνικα τῇ ἐφέσει χρησάμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Φῆστον παρεπέμφθη, ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς ἀθῶος ἀφείθη, καὶ τὰς Σπανίας κατέλαβε, καὶ εἰς ἕτερα ἔθνη δραμὼν τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας λαμπάδα προσήνεγκε. Cf. iv. 900. Græcorum Affectuum Curationis, Disputatio viii.

The testimony of Chrysostom is not less express; who always

to insist upon any others, which depended on the authority of later times. I will observe only that the testimony of the Latin Presbyter supposes Paul to go to Spain *from the city*; and that of Clement supposes him to evangelize the *whole* of that country: he could not otherwise have preached the gospel to the extreme bounds of the west; which the ancients universally considered to be the Straits of Gibraltar at least. I think, then, that upon the strength of these two testimonies we are authorized to assume, first, that St. Paul set out to Spain at the close of his imprisonment at Rome; and secondly, that he was long enough in Spain to have, more or less, evangelized the whole country. He would set out then soon after the spring of U. C. 814; and he would not accomplish his purpose, or be able to leave Spain again, under two years' time at least. The extent and populousness of the country, and the very great probability that Christianity had not been previously introduced into it, justify us perhaps in asserting this.

Now that, when he had made an end of the circuit of Spain, he would come back again to Italy, before he returned to Asia, is just as much a matter of course, as that he would come to Italy at first, before he would proceed to Spain. The time of his return to Italy, if the data on which we ground our conclusions are true, would be either the latter half of U. C. 815, or the first half of U. C. 816, and both in the ninth of Nero: and this is the very time at which we have al-

speaks of St. Paul's visit to Spain as of a matter of fact too well known to be called into question. The following passage of his works is all to this effect which I should think it necessary to quote: Operum xii. 2. E. in

Epistolam ad Hebræos Præfatio, 1: δύο μὲν οὖν ἔτη ἐποίησεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δεδεμένος· εἴτα ἀφείθη, εἴτα εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἦλθεν· εἴτα εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἔβη . . . καὶ τότε πάλιν ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὅτε καὶ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἀνηρῆθη.

ready shewn it to be probable that St. Paul was writing the Epistle to the Hebrews; and writing it, as the Epistle itself proved, from Italy. It is some confirmation of each of these conclusions, that the well-known inscription in Gruter^b, the time of which is synchronous with the tenth of Nero, the date of the first general persecution of Christianity; if it be admitted to be genuine, proves that the gospel had been introduced into Spain at least by the tenth of Nero; and I think it is some argument of the genuineness of the inscription itself that, if we are right in the conclusions already established, Christianity must have been introduced there by St. Paul himself, as early as the seventh.

The date of the Epistle to the Hebrews will thus be determined to the ninth of Nero; and that it was the latter half of the ninth, not the former, and consequently U. C. 816, not U. C. 815, may further be shewn as follows:

I. The writer was preparing to leave Italy and to return to Asia at the time^c; which we may suppose he would not do except in the spring or summer quarter of the year.

II. That when the Epistle was written a persecution was going on against the church of Judæa, has been made to appear elsewhere^d: and yet that it was a persecution of no long standing may be collected from xii. 4: Ye have not yet *resisted* unto blood—ἀντικατέστητε—*more properly*, Ye have not yet been set in opposition unto blood—while striving against the sin of apostasy; that is, Ye have not yet been placed in circumstances under which, while striving against the sin of apostasy, it would be necessary for you to resist unto blood. It appears from x. 34, that the violence

^b ccxxviii. n. 9.

^c xiii. 19. 23.

^d Dissertation ii. Vol. i. 160. 168.

of the persecution as yet must have been limited to the spoiling or plundering of their goods. But whatsoever it was, that it was the second which they had hitherto experienced appears also from x. 32. which refers to some former persecution, and yet only to one former; and therefore in all probability, to the persecution in the time of Saul.

Now, as that former persecution was begun by the martyrdom of Stephen, so may it be inferred from xiii. 7. was this second by the martyrdom of those, who are called the *ἡγούμενοι* of the church, and who are said to *have spoken to them the word of God*; the end of whose conversation among them, that is, the exit or mode of departing from the world which they had finally experienced; they are commanded to remember, in order to imitate their faith: ἀναθεωροῦντες—*literally*, reviewing; but as a spectacle, which is over and over again brought before the eyes. This description can apply to none in general so justly as to the Apostles of Christ; nor to any of these in particular, (as not only Apostles of Christ, but also the *ἡγούμενοι* of the Hebrew church,) so properly as either James, the one the brother of John, and the other the brother of our Lord; the former martyred at a time when others of the Apostles were still left with the Hebrew church, and the latter their first bishop, and himself in the course of time a martyr. Both these martyrdoms may be here intended; but that the latter in particular is meant seems to me to follow not only from the reason of the thing, but from the coincidence of the time of the martyrdom with that of this allusion to it.

We have two accounts of the martyrdom of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem and surnamed the Just; one by Hegesippus an ancient Christian writer, and

the other from Josephus ^e. The former of these places it at the time of a Passover; and the latter when the younger Ananus was high priest, and in the first year of the administration of Albinus, but before he was arrived in the province *. The first year of Albinus may be determined as follows.

The history of Jesus the son of Ananus ^f demonstrates that Albinus was already procurator and in office, at or after the feast of Tabernacles, *πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου*: and seven years, and five months †, before the time when this Jesus himself perished, during the siege of Jerusalem, U. C. 823. That siege was begun at a Passover; and consequently at the Passover of U. C. 823: Albinus therefore was procurator and in office at or soon after a feast of Tabernacles, seven years and five months before this Passover; which could be at the feast of Tabernacles U. C. 815. only,

* I am aware that the words which relate to James, in this account of Josephus—*τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ. Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ*—have been considered an interpolation; but I have seen no argument in disproof of their genuineness, which is not absolutely gratuitous, and resolvable into the *ipse dixit* of the critic. If all these words are to be given up, the whole section must be pronounced spurious; for this part and the rest must stand and fall together. The words *τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ* may very possibly be an interpolation; but we have no proof that the remainder, *τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ. Ἰά-*

κωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, is justly to be considered so; nothing in short but suspicion and mere possibility—in opposition to the weight of internal and external testimony from manuscripts, quotations, and recognitions, as far back as we can trace the history of the passage; which is entirely on the other side. See in particular Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 47. *Operum* i. 362. last line—363. l. 3. and *In Matthæum*, x. 17: *Operum* iii. 463. C.

† Photius, *Codex* 47. page 11. l. 37—40. reads *six* years and *three* months: *ἔτη 6'*. and *μήνας 3'*. an easy corruption of the genuine numbers, *ἔτη 5'*. and *μήνας 4'*.

^e Eusebius, E. H. ii. 23. which includes, in general terms, also the account of Clemens, in the *Hypotyposes*: *Ant. Jud.* xx. ix. 1. Cf. Syncellus, i. 638. 3, sqq: See also Jerome, iv. *Pars* ii. 101, 102. *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, ii: and the *Chronicon* of Pollux, 192. 194. ^f Bell. *Jud.* vi. v. 3.

the beginning of the ninth of Nero—seven years and six months, before the Passover, U. C. 823. when the city was invested by Titus ; and three years and six or seven months, or what might be called in current language, four years, before the time in U. C. 819, when the war broke out.

This feast of Tabernacles was undoubtedly the feast alluded to next after the arrival of Albinus ; as the very circumstance of its not being specified by name would of itself imply ^s : it was likewise the feast next after the death of James ; at the time of which or soon after it, Albinus was in Alexandria, and still on his way to the province. As he was travelling through Alexandria, it is clear he had set out from Rome taking advantage of the Etesian winds ; and consequently not before the middle of July, when those winds commonly began to blow. Ananus was deposed from the priesthood in consequence of the death of James itself ; but he was deposed by Agrippa, not by Albinus, and at a time when Albinus had not arrived on his way further at the utmost than Alexandria. By the aid of the Etesian winds, he could not fail to be in Alexandria some time in the month of August. Pliny mentions instances of Prefects who under similar circumstances made the passage from the *fretum Siculum* to Alexandria in seven days, and even in six ; and from Puteoli, in nine ^h.

Now Ananus had been three months in possession of the priesthood, before he was deposed ; and he was deposed, as we have seen in the last half of the eighth of Nero, U. C. 815 ; the time of his removal coinciding with the month of July or August, in that year. The tradition of Hegesippus, then, that James was put to death at the time of the Passover, may be correct, but

^s xx. ix. 3. Vide Supra p. 126, 127.

^h H. N. xix. 1.

it must have been at the Passover of U. C. 815, for Ananus might then have been in office: and thus much we may assert with confidence; viz. that he was in office if not at the Passover, at least at the Pentecost of U. C. 815; the former of which fell out upon April 11. and consequently the latter upon June 1. And if St. James was put to death by Ananus, and put to death at some Jewish feast, it must have been at one of these two. Jesus the son of Damnaeus was appointed by Agrippa in his stead; and as Ananus was certainly deposed, so must a successor to him have been appointed, in the interval between the next feast of Tabernacles, October 6, and the last at least of the other two feasts.

Though therefore the account of Hegesippus contains other particulars, which appear to me to offend against probability; yet in the main facts he is so well supported by Josephus, that we may implicitly believe him. The death of James, then, and the first year of Albinus, were consecutive upon each other, and both coincided with U. C. 815, the latter half of the eighth of Nero. The assertion therefore of Jeromeⁱ, that St. James suffered in the seventh of Nero, though it is grounded apparently on the alleged authority of Josephus, and also on that of the Ὑποτυπώσεις of Clemens Alexandrinus, is entitled to no credit; for Josephus certainly does not warrant this inference; nor if the truth were known perhaps did Clement*.

Festus, who succeeded to Felix in the fourth of Nero, died in office^k; but before his death he sent the high

* The date of the Paschal U. C. 822. A. D. 69. which Chronicon, for the death of would be the first of Vespasian. James, is still more in error: See i. 460. l. 7.

ⁱ De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, *loco citato*. Cf. however, the Armenian Chronicon of Eusebius, ad annum Neronis vii. and Syncellus, i. 634. 3. ^k Ant. Jud. xx. ix. 1.

priest, Ishmael, and certain others of the chief of the Jews, to Rome¹; two of whom, including Ishmael, were subsequently detained by Poppæa; whom Josephus calls *the wife* of Nero. This may be the mission alluded to in the Life of Josephus^m, ascribed by a lapse of memory to Felix instead of Festus; though that is by no means a necessary supposition. In consequence of the detention of Ishmael, the priesthood was conferred by Agrippa on Joseph, surnamed Cabi, the son of Simonⁿ; and on the death of Festus, upon Ananus the younger; who held it as before stated only three months^o.

It is clearly implied by this account, that Joseph continued in possession of the priesthood a very short time; and when *he* was appointed, Festus was still alive, Ishmael was in detention at Rome, and Poppæa was then, or according to the usage of Josephus, might be reputed and called even then, the wife of Nero. Now she was formally espoused by Nero, in the eighth year of his reign, U. C. 815, within twelve days after the divorce of Octavia^p; and not long before the beginning of the month of June; the ninth of which was the time of the death of Nero, as well as of Octavia subsequently to the divorce^q. But from the intimacy which had long subsisted between them, she might be called, and would be considered by Josephus, as his wife, from U. C. 811. and thenceforward^r; as early as the fourth of Nero.

If then we suppose that Ishmael was sent to Rome in the seventh of Nero, *before* U. C. 814. *medium*; and Joseph was appointed high priest in the eighth, *after* U. C. 814. *ab auctumno*; that Festus died, and Ananus was appointed to succeed Joseph, about the spring of

¹ Ant. xx. viii. 11. ^m Vita, 3. ⁿ Ant. xx. viii. 11. ^o xx. ix. 1.
^p Tacitus, Annales, xiv. 60. Suetonius, Nero, 35. §. 8. ^q Annales, xiv. 60—
64. Suetonius, Nero, 57. §. 1. ^r Tacitus, Annales, xiii. 45.

U. C. 815; and that he was again deposed, and Albinus, being sent after midsummer, arrived in the province before the feast of Tabernacles, October 6, U. C. 815, at the close of the eighth or at the beginning of the ninth of Nero: we make no supposition which is not both possible in itself, and entirely consistent with the accounts of Josephus. It is true that Festus, on this principle, must have been three years and upwards of six months in office prior to his death; but it is also true that Felix was upwards of eight years in office, before Festus; and that Albinus, who must have been appointed at midsummer, U. C. 815, was not superseded by Gessius Florus before U. C. 817. at the earliest, and possibly not before U. C. 818: for Poppæa, to whom the latter is said to have owed his appointment, did not die much before the close of the first six months of U. C. 818*; soon after which event Nero put the consul Atticus Vestinus to death, and married Messalina his wife^s. The war is said to have broken out in the second year current of the administration of Florus; which might still be true of the first part of U. C. 819. when the war broke out, though that administration had begun only in U. C. 818^t.

The propriety then of the allusion at Hebrews xiii. 7. though we should understand it to refer to the death of St. James—if the Epistle was written in U. C. 816, a year after the event, must be apparent; and I think this coincidence between the matter of fact, and the allusion to it in the Epistle, is a strong argument that the latter was then written. The reference to the bonds

* Poppæa died at the time of the Neronea: which (Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv. 20. xvi. 6. 2. 4. 12.) were celebrated between April

and June. The *Fasti* exhibit the name of a consul suffectus in the room of Vestinus, *ex Kal. Jul.*

^s Tacitus, *Annales*, xvi. 6. 12, 13. Suetonius, *Nero*, 35. §. 4. 15. §. 6. 12. §. 8.

^t *Ant. Jud.* xx. xi. 1.

of the writer ^u is clearly an allusion to some past, and not to any present circumstance of his personal history; which also would be in character in reference either to the confinement of St. Paul at Cæsarea, six or seven years before, or to his imprisonment at Rome, three or four. The same conclusion is implied by x. 25. and x. 37; which can be understood of nothing except the approaching visitation of the Jews; for that was also the period of deliverance to their Christian brethren: and in the spring of U. C. 816. the visitation, which began about the same time U. C. 819, was only three years remote. And having arrived at these conclusions respecting the preceding Epistles, we will pass to the remaining ones, which are three in number; the two Epistles to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus.

I. If these Epistles were really written the last of all, they must each of them have been written between the date of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the time of the death of St. Paul; concerning which more will be said hereafter.

II. The Second to Timothy was unquestionably the last of the three, and was written in the year of Paul's second imprisonment, and very probably just before his death; first, because it was written when the writer was again in chains ^v; and when he either was, or had been again in Rome ^w: secondly, because it was written when the writer had a strong and lively presentiment in his mind, that the time of his departure was come; that is, that his martyrdom was at hand ^{*}; under which presentiment, and as consoled by the pleasing reflection that his part had been

* This appears particularly in his use of the term *ἐφίστηκε*, verse 6; for that does not de-

note, is at hand—however near—but, is come, or actually arrived.

^u x. 34.

^v 2 Tim. i. 8. 12. 16. ii. 9, 10, 11, 12.

^w 2 Tim. i. 17.

faithfully and successfully fulfilled, he exults accordingly^x.

III. The resemblance perceptible both in the general design, and in the particular structure of the Epistle to Titus, and of the First Epistle to Timothy, is a satisfactory proof that they must have been written either together, or within a short time of each other; so that the time and the place of the one are presumptively to be considered the time and the place of the other. Now when St. Paul wrote to Titus, Titus was in Crete^y; when he wrote to Timothy, Timothy was at Ephesus^z; and St. Paul had left them in each of these places respectively himself. St. Paul then had both visited Crete, and passed through Ephesus before he wrote to either of them. When however he left Timothy in person at Ephesus, he was himself on his way to Macedonia^z; and when he wrote his Epistle to him afterwards, his business in that country was at an end^a; for he hoped to rejoin him shortly. We may infer, then, that he wrote to Timothy either from Macedonia, or from some other quarter in its vicinity.

IV. Now when he wrote the Epistle to Titus, as Titus himself was in Crete, so was St. Paul in the neighbourhood of some Nicopolis^b; for that he was not at that time *in* this Nicopolis appears from his language, ἐκεῖ γὰρ κέκρικα παραχειμάσαι; not, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ κέκρικα παραχειμάσαι. The winter, too, which he proposed to spend there, must still have been at some distance; for Titus was to come to him while he was wintering there; and Titus was still in Crete: and St. Paul was to send him a message, even after the reception of the Epistle, to tell him at what time to come. It is clear, then, that he must have written to

^x 2 Tim. iv. 6. 8.
^b Tit. iii. 12.

^y Tit. i. 5.

^z 1 Tim. i. 3.

^a 1 Tim. iii. 14.

him on the present occasion either in the summer season, or at the latest early in the autumnal quarter of the year.

V. There was no Nicopolis, in the neighbourhood of Macedonia, at which St. Paul could propose to winter, if he was now any where in that quarter; except the well-known city, founded by Augustus to commemorate his victory at Actium*. Nicopolis, situated on the confines of Thrace and of the first division of Macedonia, and known by the name of Nicopolis ad Nesum or Nessum, Nestum or Mestum; though otherwise a central city, and very likely to be selected for a winter residence by one who was previously in Macedonia, being founded by Trajan was not as yet in being^e†. The same thing is true of Nicopolis ad Iatrum or ad Istrum; and very probably of Nicopolis ad Hæmum. Nor, besides the Actian Nicopolis, was there any city *of note* so called, and contemporary with St. Paul, except Nicopolis in Armenia, founded by Pompey, U. C. 688, and Nicopolis in Egypt, founded by Augustus, U. C. 724^e†.

* The foundation in question is thus celebrated in an epigram of Antipater of Thessalonica, a contemporary poet: Δευκάδος ἄντι μὲ Καῖσαρ, ἰδ' Ἀμβρακίης ἐριβώλου, | Θυρρείου τε πέλειν, ἀντί τ' Ἀνακτορίου, | Ἄργεος Ἀμφιλόχου τε, καὶ ὀππόσα ράισατο κύκλῳ | ἄστε' ἐπιθρώσκων δουρομανῆς πόλεμος, | εἴσατο Νικόπολιν, θείην πόλιν· ἀντὶ δὲ νίκης | Φοῖβος ἀναξ ταύτην δείκνυται Ἀκτιάδος. Anthologia, ii. 104. Antipatri xxxiii.

† Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus xxvii. 4. and xxxi. 5. p. 628,

where he tells us Trajan founded this Nicopolis, Indiciū victoriæ contra Dacos: consequently either U. C. 856. or U. C. 859.^d

‡ The name of Nicopolis was given to many ancient cities; and besides those enumerated, Appian, De Rebus Syriacis, 57, speaks of one founded in Armenia by Seleucus Nicator: there was another in Judæa, built on the site of an Emmaus: (Reland, Palæstina, 426. 758–760. Cf. Sozomen, v. 21. 629. D. 630. B:) which, however, was not in being before

^c Cellarii Geographia, ii. xv. 857. viii. 370. xv. 859. ^d It is, however, to be observed, that Cellarius *locis citatis*, and Eckhel, ii. 16. describe this Nicopolis as the same with Nicopolis ad Istrum or Iatrum. ^e Dio, xxxvi. 31–33. li. 18. Strabo, xii. 3. §. 28. 122. xvii. 1. §. 10. 510. Appian, De Bello Mithridatico, 105: Suetonius, Augustus, 18: Josephus, De Bello, iv. xi. 5: Orosius, vi. 4. Procopius, De Ædificiis, iii. 4. 58. A.

Let us suppose that St. Paul means the Nicopolis of Epirus. He was not there when he wrote to Titus ; he might be there when he wrote to Timothy : and where-soever he was when he wrote to either, it was somewhere not far from where he was when he wrote to the other. Before he wrote to Timothy, he had been in Macedonia ; and when he wrote to Titus, he was in the neighbourhood of Nicopolis ; and each of these things would be the case, if he left Titus in Crete before he proceeded to Ephesus, and Timothy in Ephesus when he proceeded to Macedonia ; and wrote to

the time of Antoninus, surnamed Elogabalus, or Alexander Mamææ ; that is, A.D. 221.^e A Nicopolis in Bithynia is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus, and by Pliny, H.N. v. 43 ; whose words, however, appear to me to imply, that in his time, and, consequently, as we may presume in that of St. Paul, it was not in existence. Deinde Nicopolis (sc. fuit) a qua nomen *etiamnum* sinus retinet.

Besides these, there was a Nicopolis noticed by Stephanus, under the article Ἰσσοῦς, and by Eustathius ad Dionysium Periegetem, 119 : which was founded to commemorate Alexander's victory over Darius : and another, not far from its vicinity, in the region of Syria called Seleucis, which is mentioned by Strabo, xiv. 4. §. 19. 715 : and by Ptolemy, Geographica, iv. 148^f. Neither of these, however, was a city of note or consequence at the present time, in comparison

of the Actian Nicopolis ; concerning which Strabo observes, vii. 7. §. 6. 460 : ἡ μὲν οὖν Νικόπολις εὐανδρεῖ, καὶ λαμβάνει καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπίδοσιν : whereas the other two had fallen in great measure into obscurity. Cf. Dio, l. 12. Nor is it to be supposed that St. Paul, writing from Macedonia, or its immediate vicinity, would think or speak of passing the winter at any Nicopolis, but that which was close at hand, viz. the Epirote or Actian. Hieronymus, iv. Pars i^a. 407, 408. Præfatio in Titum : Scribit igitur Apostolus ... de Nicopoli, quæ in Actiaco littore sita, &c. This city was still in being in the reign of Justinian ; see Procopius, De Ædificiis, iv. 1. 68. C. Cf. Socrates, E. H. vii. 10. 346. C. and Evagrius, E. H. ii. 18. 322. D. who mentions Atticus, bishop of Nicopolis, as one of those who were present at the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451.

^e If this was the Emmaus, mentioned by Josephus, De Bello, vii. vi. 6. it will appear that something like a colony was planted there, U. C. 826, though the name of the place was not changed. This might be the city in behalf of which Julius Africanus undertook the embassy, in the reign of Elogabalus, which led to the foundation of Nicopolis on that site, A. D. 221. See Eusebius and Jerome, in Chronicis : and the other authorities cited by Reland. ^f The site of this Nicopolis is doubtful, whether in Cilicia or in Seleucis. Its coins would shew it in the latter, see Eckhel, iii. 322. Strabo places it in Cilicia : so does Ptolemy.

Titus *from* Macedonia before he went to Nicopolis, and to Timothy *from* Nicopolis as soon as he left Macedonia.

Nor is it any objection that he speaks of rejoining Timothy again in person^e; for he might intend this to be understood of rejoining him after the winter; and if he wrote to him just before or during the winter, it could be understood in no other sense. Besides which, he still considers it possible that he might be delayed^f; and he writes to him by way of precaution, lest this should be the case; that so Timothy might know how to demean himself in the church of God, without St. Paul's presence as well as with it. We may conclude, then, that the Epistle to Titus was written from Macedonia; and that the First Epistle to Timothy was written soon after it from Nicopolis. And about the same time when St. Paul wrote to Timothy, though probably before it, it may be conjectured that he sent either Artemas or Tychicus, according to his promise, with his message to Titus in Crete.

VI. If we compare together the places noted in the margin^g, they must render it unquestionable that no such Epistle as the First to Timothy could have been written before the second of Nero, when the men speaking perverse things had not yet risen up in the Ephesian church; nor consequently before the seventh, when St. Paul was first released from imprisonment; nor if we were right in the date assigned to the Epistle to the Hebrews^h, before U. C. 816, when Timothy himself was in Italy, and not in Asia, and had only just been set at liberty. Nor, as we may venture to say, is there within the compass of time embraced by the Acts, any instance of a journey of St. Paul's from Asia in gene-

^e 1 Tim. iii. 14. ^f Ibid. 15. ^g 1 Tim. i. 3—i. 19, 20. v. 15. vi. 3, 4.
10. 21. Acts xx. 30. ^h Heb. xiii. 23.

ral, much less from Ephesus in particular, at which it would be possible, without a contradiction to the history itself, to suppose that Timothy was left behind, while St. Paul went into Macedonia. There is no instance within that time, upon which Timothy was left any where behind him at all, especially for such a purpose and in such a capacity as are implied in the Epistle ; viz. to preside over the house or household of God, and to ordain bishops, presbyters, or deacons. The whole strain of the Epistle in general, and of certain passages more than others in particularⁱ, is sufficient, on the contrary, to prove that this was the first time, for which he had yet been left in so arduous and responsible a situation, without the benefit of the presence and direction of St. Paul. In other words, it was now only that he had been appointed the bishop of Ephesus, and perhaps of the Asiatic churches in its vicinity: and it is manifest that, as he had been just appointed to this station, when the First Epistle was written, so was he still in possession of it, and still engaged upon its duties either at Ephesus in particular or in Asia generally, when the Second also was written^k.

VII. The winter which St. Paul proposed to spend at Nicopolis^l before he wrote to Titus, and which we have supposed that he was actually spending there when he wrote to Timothy; if it was some one posterior to the date of the Epistle to the Hebrews, U. C. 816, when St. Paul was in Italy, could not be the winter of U. C. 816, but at the earliest, of the year U. C. 817, the next to that: for it was some winter posterior to the return from Italy; to a visit to Crete; to a visit to Asia; and to a visit to Macedonia; and perhaps, if Hebrews xiii. 19, and xiii. 23, are to be understood in

ⁱ 1 Tim. iii. 15. iv. 12—16.
^l Tit. iii. 12.

^k 2 Tim. i. 18—ii. 2. 14, 15. iii. 14. iv. 12,

their natural and obvious sense, before them all to a visit to Judæa. A winter posterior to all these transactions we can scarce place earlier than two years' time from U. C. 816, *ineunte*; which will bring us to the close of U. C. 817, in the first quarter of the eleventh of Nero. There is no proof in the Acts of the Apostles that St. Paul was ever at Crete, or preaching the gospel there, before his voyage to Rome. We may presume, then, that the visit which he had recently paid it was his first visit; and Tit. i. 5, which speaks of *his* remaining there, to complete what St. Paul himself had left unfinished, seems to confirm the conjecture. On this principle these two Epistles could not have been written before U. C. 816; and were probably written in U. C. 817: the Epistle to Titus in the summer or autumn, the Epistle to Timothy at the beginning of the winter.

VIII. Besides this visit to the island of Crete, and the subsequent winter spent at Nicopolis; the gospel must sometime have been preached in Dalmatia, and churches have been founded there also by St. Paul, before his second imprisonment at Rome^m. Dalmatia was a province of Illyricum; and Illyricum, as we have seen already, had not been evangelized, at least by the ministry of St. Paul, before the second of Nero, when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans; nor consequently could be so before the seventh; nor, if St. Paul, as we supposed, went straight from Rome into Spain, before the ninth. Macedonia lay contiguous to Illyricum and Epirus; and Nicopolis, where St. Paul proposed to winter, after writing to Titus, and where he was probably wintering when he wrote to Timothy, was equally well situated either for the close of an evangelical circuit, which had already embraced Illyricum

^m 2 Tim. iv. 10.

as well as Macedonia, in the course of that same year ; or for the commencement of one, which should embrace it in the next. And this I consider the more probable supposition of the two ; viz. that St. Paul had not yet visited Illyricum, when he wrote either to Titus or to Timothy, but that he did so, when he left Nicopolis, in the course of the year ensuing.

IX. The general lateness of these two Epistles in particular is implied by many internal evidences, which some persons may consider minute and superficial ; but which appear to me to be critical and striking. The constitution of the visible church had now finally assumed that settled state, under the government of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, in which it was destined to continue ; and to give it which seems to have been the chief employment of the last few years of St. Paul's ministry, and as we saw elsewhereⁿ, very probably of St. Peter's. The language, sentiments, and manner of both are perceptibly different from those of the earlier Epistles. They have much less of the air and character, which indicate the nascent, and therefore the extraordinary state of Christianity ; and a great deal more of what would apply to its actual condition, at every period of its existence since. These two Epistles to Timothy and to Titus respectively are just what a grave and serious teacher of the gospel, endued with an adequate authority, might write under similar circumstances, and upon similar topics, with very little modification, even at the present day. They display throughout an experience of the practical effects of Christianity, which could be produced only by time. There is no enthusiasm, no glow, no warmth of colouring about them ; they are serious and earnest, but cool and dispassionate. They

ⁿ Dissertation ii. vol. i. 166.

have even a melancholy cast. They contain complaints, which must have been the results of past disappointments, as well as presentiments, which are the fruit of the foreboding of evil to come. It is clear that the writer considered the present state of things in the church to be worse than the former; and the future as likely to be worse than the present. The passions and vices of men had already defeated in practice the natural good effects of the gospel; and they would still more oppose and thwart them hereafter. Nor is it any objection that, both in the First and in the Second Epistle^o, Timothy is addressed as still a young man: for if he was even twenty, U.C. 802^p, when Paul first took him with him, instead of what is more probable, not more than fifteen or sixteen; he would be only thirty-six or thirty-seven, and might be only thirty-one or thirty-two, U.C. 819.

The time of the Second Epistle to Timothy, as we have already observed, coincides with that of St. Paul's second imprisonment at Rome, and probably also of his death: upon which question we will now enter.

The truth of the general proposition that both St. Paul and St. Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, and under the reign of Nero; is so well authenticated and by such a cloud of witnesses, that it would be the height of scepticism to disbelieve it, and an unnecessary waste of trouble to produce the testimonies to it. But as to the more particular, circumstantial assertion, that they suffered at Rome in the *same* year, and much more on the *same* day in the *same* year, of Nero; testimony is not uniform to that point: antecedent probability is strongly in opposition to it: we meet with no traces of it in the earliest and most authentic Christian writers, and it begins to appear first, like

o 1 Tim. iv. 12. 2 Tim. ii. 22.

p Acts xvi. 1.

many other precarious assumptions of the same kind, only in the later and the least entitled to credit*. On

* Clemens Romanus, *Epistola ad Corinthios Prima*, i. 5: λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους. Πέτρος διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ ἓνα οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας, ὑπέμεινεν πό- νους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύ- θη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. διὰ ζῆλον ὁ Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἀπέσχευ, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φο- ρέσας, ῥαβδευθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς, κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐ- τοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην δι- δάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυ- ρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γε- νόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

The natural inference from this passage, is not only that Peter and Paul did not suffer together, but that Peter suffered before Paul. Dionysius bishop of Corinth, (Eusebius, E. H. ii. 25. 68. A. B: Syncellus, i. 645.

1.3-9,) bears witness to the fact of these two apostles' suffering κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν; as well as to their visiting Corinth and Rome, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν. But he says nothing of their suffering on the same day, and in the same year.

Gaius or Caius the presbyter, (apud Eusebium, E.H. ii. 25. 67, 68: Syncellum, i. 644, 645.) ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. εἴαν γὰρ θελήσης ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανόν, ἥ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀστίαν, εἰρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσταμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Petrus Alexandrinus, (apud Reliquias Sacras, iii. 332. 12:) οὕτως ὁ πρόκριτος τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρος... ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐσταυρώθη. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ περιβόητος Παῦλος... ἐν τῇ αὐ- τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτὸς μαχαίρᾳ τὴν κε- φαλήν ἀπεκείρατο.

Clemens Alexandrinus, ii. 898. 1. 7. Stromatum vii. 17, attests the fact of the death of the apo- stles, and in particular of St. Paul, ἐπὶ Νέρωνος. ii. 869. 21.

† In the Codex Apocryphus of Fabricius, p. 440. Apostolica Historia, i. cap. 20. St. Peter's history is thus summed up: Cujus corpus Marcellus, unus ex disci- pulis ejus, nullius exspectans sententiam, propriis manibus de cruce deposuit, et pretiosissimis aromatibus conditum in suo ipsius sarcophago collocavit, in loco qui dicitur Vaticanus, juxta viam triumphalem, ubi totius orbis veneratione celebratur in pace: which last words seem to have been borrowed from Jerome's De Scri- ptoribus Ecclesiasticis, i. or Jerome's from them: Sepultus Romæ in Vaticano, juxta viam triumphalem, totius orbis veneratione celebratur. In like manner, St. Paul's: Ibid. 455. ii. 8: Cujus corpus Lucina, Christi famula, secundo ab urbe milliaro, via Hostiensis, in proprio prædio differtum aromatibus sepelivit. passus est autem iii. Kalendas Julias, duobus jam a passione Petri elapsis annis. Cf. the Peregrinatio Pauli, apud Œcumenium, i. 193. A.

The site of the tomb of St. Peter, and of the church afterwards erected to his memory, according to Procopius, De Bello Gotthico, i. 19. A. D. 537, was on the via Aurelia, near the Aurelian gate. Cf. Ibid. 22. Hard by was the mausoleum of Hadrian, minutely described, ibid. 22. and commanding the bridge leading to St. Peter's church, iii. 36. 434. l. 18—21. In Procopius' time the gate was called St. Peter's: and in like manner, the gate leading to Ostia, near which was the tomb and the church of St. Paul, (Ibid. ii. 4,) was called St. Paul's. It appears, Ibid. 4, that this church was fourteen stades, or a mile and an half, distant from the city: and that both this by the Ostian gate, and St. Peter's by the Aurelian, were without the city, a στοὰ or covered way, conducting from the city to either of them.

these accounts, unless more unexceptionable testimony can be produced in its favour, we need not hesitate, if

Stromatum vii. 11, he relates the following anecdote in reference to the death of St. Peter : *φασὶ γοῦν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον, θεασάμενον τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, ἡσθῆναι μὲν τῆς κλήσεως χάριν, καὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς ἐπιφωνῆσαι δὲ εὖ μάλα προτρεπτικῶς τε καὶ παρακλητικῶς, ἐξ ὀνόματος προσειπόντα μέμνησο αὐτῆ τοῦ Κυρίου.* Cf. Eusebius, iii. 1. 71. A. B. 30. 102. A. B. Ambrose also, *Operum* ii. 866. F—867. B. *Sermo Contra Auxentium*, §. 13, supplies another traditional anecdote in relation to the circumstances which more remotely preceded that event; more especially our Lord's reputed appearance to him as he was quitting or preparing to quit Rome: the original of which tradition was contained in the third Book of Hegesippus.

Still there is here no mention of St. Paul.

Tertullian, i. 193: *Contra Marcionem*, iv. 5: Videamus...quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent: quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. ii. 28: *De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum*, 24: Bene quod Petrus Paulo et in martyrio adæquatur. ii. 46: Ibid. cap. 36: De Romana Ecclesia: Felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt: ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur: ubi Paulus Johannis exitu coronatur: ubi apostolus Johannes, postea quam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. ii. 387: *Contra Gnosticos*, 15: Vitas Cæsarum legimus: orientem fidem Romæ

primus Nero cruentavit. tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, cum cruci adstringitur. tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur nativitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate. iv. 188: *De Baptismo*, 4: Nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit. v. 16: *Apologeticus*, 5: Consulite commentarios vestros. illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam tum maxime Romæ orientem Cæsariano gladio ferocisse. sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriamur. v. 60: *Apologeticus*, 21: Discipuli quoque diffusi per orbem... Romæ postremo per Neronis sævitiam sanguinem Christianum semina-verunt.

Hippolytus, *περὶ τῶν 13. ἀποστόλων*, *Operum* ii. 30, 31, and Origen, *Selecta* in Genesim, tom. iii, *Operum* ii. 24. B, (Cf. Eusebius, E. H. iii. 1.) both bear witness to the fact of Peter and Paul's suffering under Nero respectively; but they are silent as to their suffering together. Vide also the abstract prefixed to Cæcumenius in *Novum Testamentum*.

Lactantius, *Divinæ Institutiones*, iv. 21. 380, speaks of the death of Peter and Paul under Nero in conjunction, and of both before the Jewish war; but does not say that they suffered in the same year: Itaque post illorum obitum, cum eos Nero interemisset, Judæorum nomen et gentem Vespasianus extinxit, fecitque omnia quæ illi futura prædixerant.

The author *De Mortibus Per-*

the nature of the case requires, to call this tradition into question. The year in which St. Peter and St.

secutorum, cap. ii. p. 845, having spoken of the diffusion of the Gospel Per omnes provincias et civitates, down to the beginning of the reign of Nero, as he implies, without obstruction or molestation, adds; Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibusdam miraculis, quæ virtute ipsius Dei, data sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. qua re ad Neronem delata ... primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit.

Chrysostom repeatedly attests the fact of Paul's and Peter's suffering at Rome, the former by being beheaded, the latter, crucified, and that with his head downwards. A tradition, indeed, of very regular occurrence with respect to the mode of his death in particular. See Eusebius, E. H. iii. 1: Demonstratio Evangelica, iii. 5. 116. C: Hieronymus, De SS. Ecclesiasticis, i. Operum iv. 101. *ad principium*: Ambrose; i. 626. A. De Interpellatione Job, i. i. §. 21. Operum ii. 494. C. De Laudibus Pauli Apostoli Hom. iv. he estimates the length of St. Paul's ministry at not quite 30 years. Operum viii. 10. D. *Spuria*, in Petrum et Paulum, cap. 2, Paul is supposed to serve God 35 years, and die at 68; a statement

which is very probably not genuine. Ibid. the martyrdom of both is placed on the same day, June 29. Operum i. 48. D. E. De Vita Monastica lib. i. cap. 3, the death of St. Paul is attributed to the anger of Nero; because he had converted a concubine of his, with whom he was accustomed to have intercourse *ὁ κατὰ φύσιν*, and had reclaimed her from the practice of this enormity: or as Œcumenius, in Nov. Test. ii. 281. D. in 2 ad Tim. iv. 16, reports, because he had converted his butler.

This last authority, Commentarius in Nov. Test. i. 187. D—188. C. closes the Commentary on the Acts, by specifying sundry dates from the Chronicon of Eusebius, (Cf. the Peregrinatio Pauli subjoined, 193. B—195. D,) viz. that St. Paul was called in the nineteenth of Tiberius, the year after the Passion; that the length of his ministry was 35 years; and that he suffered in the thirty-sixth year after the Passion, the thirteenth of Nero, &c. Neither here is any mention made of Peter. The Martyrium prefixed to Œcumenius places the martyrdom of St. Paul at Rome, under Nero, June 29, A. D. 66, U. C. 819. Vide vol. iii. 632.

Theophylact, iii. 172. E. In Acta Apost. xxv. 15: *ἐτέχθη μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, καθὼς οἱ χρόνοι δηλοῦσιν,*

1 Crucifixion with the head downwards was one among the other modes of inflicting that punishment. Seneca, ad Marciam, xx. 3: Video istic cruces non unius quidem generis, sed aliter ab aliis fabricatas. capite quidam conversos in terram suspendere, alii per obscena stipitem egerunt, alii brachia patibulo explicuerunt.

Paul most probably suffered, whether conjointly or separately, must be otherwise determined.

I. If it is reasonable to suppose that neither of

ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος· ἀπέθανε δὲ μετὰ λβ'. ἔτη ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Αὐγούστου. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, μετὰ λβ'. ἔτος τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Κυρίου. Theophylact places the passion U. C. 784: therefore he places the death of St. Paul U. C. 816.

Sulpicius, *Sacra Historia*, ii. 41. §. 10, supposes Paul and Peter both to suffer in the persecution under Nero, and apparently *about* the same time; but says nothing of their suffering *at* the same time, or on the same day.

Zonaras, i. 570. A. xi. 13, tells us that there were always two opinions respecting the deaths of Peter and Paul; one of which placed them both on the *same* day in the *same* year, the other on the *same* day, but in *different* years. So likewise Theodore Metochita, *Historia Romana*, p. 78.

Prudentius was one who entertained this latter opinion. *Operum* i. 283. *περὶ στεφάνων* xii. 3. Festus Apostolici nobis redit hic dies triumphi, | Pauli atque Petri nobilis cruore. | Unus utrumque dies, pleno tamen innovatus anno, | Vidit superba morte laureatum. | 11. Prima Petrum rapuit sententia legibus Neronis, | Pendere iussum præminente ligno. | 21. Ut teres orbis iter flexi rota percucurrit anni, | Diemque eundem sol reduxit ortus; | E vomit in jugulum Pauli Nero fervidum furorem, | Jubet feriri gentium magistrum.

So likewise Augustin, iii. pars iia. 8. C: *De Consensu Evan-*

gelistarum, i. 16: Et occurrit eis Petrus et Paulus, credo quod pluribus locis simul eos cum illo (Jesu scilicet Christo) pictos viderent, quia merita Petri et Pauli etiam propter *eundem* passionis *diem* celebrius solemniter Roma commendat. And it appears from his *Sermo de Sanctis*, 28, that he supposed this to be the same day in different years.

Accident has frequently brought to pass as remarkable coincidences. Timoleon's great victories were all gained on his birthday, Thargelion 23 or 24: Cornelius Nepos, Timoleon, 5: Plutarch, Camillus, 19. Ovid and his brother were born on the same day in successive years: *Tristium*, iv. x. 9—12. Rutilius and Didius were both defeated and killed on the same day in successive years: Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 563—568. Lucullus defeated Tigranes on the same day in one year, on which the Cimbri had defeated and killed Cæpio in another: Plutarch, Lucullus, 27: *Apophthegmata*, *Operum* vi. 764: Camillus, 19. Cyprian bishop of Carthage, and Cornelius bishop of Rome, both suffered martyrdom on the same day in different years, the 18th Kalends of October: Jerome *De SS. Ecclesiasticis*, lxvii. *Operum* iv. pars ii. 19.

A collection of such coincidences is given in Ælian, *Variae Historiæ*, ii. 25. Compare also Plutarch, Camillus, 19: Diodorus Sic. xiii. 108: Plutarch, *Symposiaca*, viii. 1. *Operum* viii. 859. et sqq.

them suffered before the persecution of Christianity, in the reign of Nero, was first set on foot; and if it is still more certain that both of them suffered sometime in the reign of Nero; the extreme limits within which the martyrdom of each must be comprehended will be U. C. 817, in the tenth of Nero on the one hand, and U. C. 821, in the fourteenth on the other. They could neither of them suffer before the nineteenth of July in the former year^q, when the city of Rome was set on fire, nor after the ninth of June in the latter, which was the day of the death of Nero. The persecution of the Christians at Rome was certainly begun in consequence of that fire^r; but when once begun, it seems to have been continued independent of it. Suetonius attests the fact of the persecution of Christianity under Nero, as well as Tacitus; but with no allusion to the charge or suspicion of their having set fire to the city: *Afflicti suppliciiis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ*^s: and the same thing is true of the implicit testimony of Juvenal^t,

Pone Tigellinum—tæda lncebis in illa,
Qua stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latus mediam sulcus diducit arenam.

And we have seen from the language of several of the contemporary Epistles^u, that persecutions against Christianity were going on, more or less generally, in the provinces, before the commencement of this at Rome.

II. It is an ancient tradition that St. Paul, after his conversion, preached the gospel five and thirty years, until the time of his death^v. But if the date of that conversion was, as we placed it, U. C. 790, it is impossible that this statement should hold good of St.

^q Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 41.

^r *Ibid.* 38-44.

^s Nero, 16.

^t *Sat.* i. 155.

^u *Dissertation* ii. vol. i. 160. 168.

^v Hippolytus, *Operum* i. Appendix, 31.

Paul; for five and thirty years from U. C. 790, would place his martyrdom U. C. 825, some time in the third or the fourth of Vespasian. And if the term of thirty-five years is inapplicable to the length of his ministry, how much more that of thirty-seven! But, if what is thus asserted of St. Paul be understood of St. Peter, the tradition may possibly be true; for five and thirty years from U. C. 783, would place *his* martyrdom U. C. 818; sometime in the eleventh of Nero.

III. The last half of the twelfth of Nero, U. C. 819, as we elsewhere proved, was the beginning of the Jewish war; that is, it was the beginning of the days of vengeance, the punishment of the national impenitence and infidelity: and consequently it implied that the period of their trial previously was past. Now with the consummation of this period, it is reasonable to presume that, in the purposes of the Divine Providence, the close of the personal ministry both of St. Peter the great Apostle of the Circumcision, and of St. Paul the great Apostle of the Uncircumcision, would coincide also: on which principle, it was not, *a priori*, to be expected that, after the beginning of U. C. 819, either of them should be still alive, or still at liberty to carry on his evangelical labours as before.

IV. If the ministry of St. Peter expired U. C. 818, and began U. C. 783, it lasted just five and thirty years. If the ministry of St. Paul began where we placed it, U. C. 791, and expired likewise, U. C. 819, it continued just seven years less. Now there was reason, *a priori*, as we observed elsewhere^w, to expect that some such ratio or proportion would be found to hold good, between the lengths of their ministries respectively, and the separate duration of each.

^w Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 63.

V. The language of testimony is so far in unison with both these conclusions, that of all the dates which are, or which can be assigned to the year of the martyrdom either of St. Peter or of St. Paul, the best supported is one or other of these two only, U. C. 818 and U. C. 819^x; in one of which, therefore, so far as we are disposed to be governed by testimony, we must place the death of both; or in the former we must place the death of the one, and in the latter the death of the other.

VI. There is as much authority for placing the death of St. Peter in U. C. 818, and the death of St. Paul in U. C. 819, respectively, as for placing the death of both in either of those years conjointly. Rufinus, in *Divum Hieronymum*^y—*Petrus Romanæ ecclesiæ per viginti et quatuor annos præfuit*—which being dated from the time when he was currently believed in the age of Jerome to have first come to Rome, viz. U. C. 795, places the last year of his bishopric, and by parity of reason the year of his death, in the twenty-fourth year current, U. C. 818^{*}.

* Prosper, in *Chronico*, also supposes Peter to have sat at Rome twenty-five years, dated apparently from the first of Claudius, U. C. 794: *Operum* 703. Eusebius does not distinctly state, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, in what year St. Peter suffered martyrdom. When he says, however, (iii. 13,) that Linus the first bishop died in the second of Titus, U. C. 833, having previously sat twelve years, he virtually supposes that Peter died in the fourteenth of Nero, U. C. 821. The *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum* places the death of St. Peter and St.

Paul ad annum Abrahami 2083, Olympiad 211 $\frac{1}{4}$. A. D. $\frac{92}{3}$, supposed to answer to the thirteenth of Nero. Yet in the same *Chronicon*, the appointment of Linus, as the first bishop after Peter, is placed in the twelfth of Nero.

Theodore Metochita and Zonaras (*locis citatis*) reckon Eusebius among those who placed the martyrdom of Paul and Peter on the same day, and in the same year. Cf. the note, p. 245. The *Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum* (*Chronicon Paschale*, ii. xvii. 198) dates the death of both, this same day, June 29, but *Coss. Nerone et Vetere*, that is, U. C. 808.

^x Lardner, *Credibility*, xvi. chap. xi.

^y *Operum* v. 296. *ad calcem*.

Jerome supposes Peter to suffer on the same day with Paul, in the thirty-seventh year after the ascension^z. Referred to U. C. 783, this date of St. Paul's martyrdom, in the thirty-seventh year current, would be U. C. 819*.

Hippolytus, *περὶ τῶν ιβ' ἀποστόλων*^a, places the martyrdom of St. Paul five and thirty years after his conversion; which conversion, he dated in the year after the ascension, U. C. 783. This date, as we stated, may be true of the length of the ministry of Peter; but cannot be so of the length of the ministry of St. Paul; and as referred to the former would place its close, U. C. 817, or U. C. 818.

Orosius asserts that the pestilence at Rome, which began in the last half of U. C. 818^b, set in after the martyrdom of the Apostles Peter and Paul; which might be true of the martyrdom of Peter, if that was U. C. 818, but is contradictory to other and earlier testimony, if understood of the martyrdom of Paul. In like manner, Sulpicius Severus places the death of both just at the time when the Jews were breaking out into open revolt^c, viz. U. C. 819, *ineunte*; which on the same supposition would not be true of the time of the death of St. Peter, but might be so of that of the death of St. Paul.

Epiphanius places the death of St. Peter and of St. Paul both in the twelfth of Nero, but not both at the same time in that year^d: and this would still be true, if Peter had suffered in the first half of that year, the

† But Jerome's date for the ascension is U. C. 784: and he reckons back from the fourteenth of Nero both for the death of St. Paul, and that of Peter. Cf. also 106, 107. cap.

^z De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, 5. Annales, xvi. 13. Suetonius, Nero, 39. 41, 42. ^d Operum i. 107. C. D.

xii. where he places the death of Seneca, Ante biennium quam Petrus et Paulus coronarentur martyrio. Seneca was put to death, U. C. 818, Neronis xi. *exeunte*.

^a Operum, ut supra. ^b Tacitus, Orosius, vii. 7. ^c Sacra Historia, ii.

second half of U. C. 818, and Paul in the second, the first half of U. C. 819.

Lastly, the internal evidence of the Second Epistle to Timothy is most in unison with this supposition, at least as regards St. Paul.

For first, it was certainly written from Rome^e; and written to Timothy as either at Ephesus, or somewhere in Asia^f. Secondly, it must have been written in the spring quarter of the year; for it desires Timothy would come to him quickly, and that before the winter should arrive^g. The mention of the winter may be understood even of the autumnal equinox; and it must be understood of some time soon after that, before the close of the autumnal quarter. Now if a letter from Rome was to reach Timothy at Ephesus, in time to produce his arrival at Rome after its receipt before the recurrence of either of those periods, and especially by that of the earlier of the two; it could not be written and sent later than the midsummer previously at the utmost. If so, St. Paul, when he wrote his last letter to Timothy, must have been at Rome between the spring and the midsummer of some year; which for argument's sake we will suppose was U. C. 819.

Now it is clear that he had not long been come to Rome; he must recently have been in Asia: the passages noted in the margin are sufficient to prove that^h. If so, he wrote the letter in question very soon after his arrival in the city: whence, if he wrote it in the spring quarter of U. C. 819, he must have arrived at Rome in the spring quarter of this same year. Moreover, it is also clear from iv. 20—especially as compared with Rom. xvi. 23—that St. Paul, before he came to Rome, had passed through Corinth; and from various passages it

^e 2 Tim. i. 17. iv. 21. ^f iv. 12, 13, 19, 20. i. 15, 16, 18. ^g iv. 9, 11, 21.
^h i. 15—18. iv. 10—13, 14, 15, 19, 20.

appears that before he arrived there, he had been in, or was brought from Asiaⁱ. It is clear also from iv. 16, 17, that, either in Rome or somewhere else, he had had one audience at least of Nero, before he wrote the letter; for Nero only, and deliverance from him, can properly be meant by the *lion*, and the *lion's mouth*, from which he says that he had been rescued. The very same metaphor is applied in Josephus^k, by Mar-syas the freedman of Herod Agrippa, to Tiberius. The use too of the particular tense, ἐρρύσθην, in speaking of this deliverance, implies that it was a recent event; for ἐρρύσθην is properly, I have been delivered. The whole passage means that he had been saved out of the jaws of a lion; that is, from a most imminent danger, and when there was apparently no chance of his escaping alive.

Now, it is a critical coincidence that, from the beginning to the midsummer of U. C. 819. Nero would be found at Rome; but after that time he would not; because, soon after the departure of Tiridates, who arrived at the beginning of the year, he set out on his visit to Achaia^l; and he was still in Achaia, when he dispatched Vespasian, after the defeat of Cestius Gallus, in the last quarter of U. C. 819. to Judæa^m. Nor did he return to Italy before the last year of his reign in U. C. 820ⁿ *.

* Dio, lxiii. 1—7: Tiridates must have arrived at Rome early in U. C. 819: for he was *nine* months on the road; and, therefore, if he set out, as it is most probable that he did, about spring, U. C. 818, he came to Rome at the beginning of U. C. 819.

Now, as Corbulo, according to Dio, (cap. 6,) was still in possession of the supreme command, at the time of Tiridates' return to the East; but was recalled and put to death by Nero, at Cenchreæ, early the next year, U. C. 820 (Dio, lxiii. 17); we may conclude that Tiridates

ⁱ i. 15. 18. iv. 13. 20. ^k Ant. xviii. vi. 10. Cf. Ps. xxii. 21. ^l Dio, lxiii. 1—8. Tacitus, Annales, xvi. 23, 24. Suetonius, Nero, 13. 19. 22, 23. ^m Jos. De Pello, ii. xx. 1. iii. 1. 3. iv. 2. ⁿ Suetonius, Nero, 25. 40. Dio, lxiii. 19.

If, then, it is reasonable to suppose that the first audience of St. Paul was before Nero himself and at Rome ; it was an audience between the spring and the summer of U. C. 819. He seems to have written his Epistle to Timothy soon after the result of the audience, and consequently in the course of the same quarter ; which agrees with what has been already

set out on his return before midsummer, U. C. 819. The command in question, which Corbulo was still retaining, was not the government of Syria in particular, but the proconsular authority over all the East, which had been previously given him. The governor of Syria, as such, must have been Cestius Gallus, whom Josephus proves to have been in office at the Passover, U. C. 819 : and whose coins (Eckhel, iii. 281, 282) extend *ab auctumno*, U. C. 818, *ad auctumnum*, U. C. 819.

Pliny has a statement, H. N. xxxiv. 18 : *Circumtulit et Nero princeps Amazonem...et paulo ante C. Cestius consularis signum, quod secum etiam in prælio habuit* : which appears to imply that Nero did not leave Rome for Greece, until after the time of Cestius Gallus' defeat by the Jews, October, U. C. 819. But there is probably some inaccuracy in this statement. Nero's object in visiting Greece was that he might exhibit at the different games. His coins accordingly, and in particular those of Egypt, commemorate his victories at the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Actia, Nemea, Heræa, &c. (see Eckhel, vi. 278, 279, &c.) beginning, after the Egyptian mode of reckoning, *ab auctumno*, U. C. 819, and extending, after the

same, to the autumn of U. C. 820. The regular Olympic year should have been that before his departure, U. C. 818 : but Eusebius, *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum*, i. p. 308, it is observed of the 211th Olympiad, (the one in question,) *Non est instituta, eo quod Nero tardavit illuc advenire ; deinde vero post duos annos constituta est*. Philostratus (*Apollonius*, v. 2. 213. C. D.) has the same statement respecting the putting off of the regular Olympiad one year, to accommodate the emperor. Cf. Suetonius, Nero, 23. The only question, then, would be whether the time also of celebrating it was delayed to a later period of the year, or whether it took place as usual at the midsummer. If so, Nero would be in Greece by the midsummer of U. C. 819 : and after that time St. Paul would not find him at Rome.

Pliny's *Paulo ante* in allusion to Cestius may imply only that he took the statue in question with him when he set out for his government ; which might be U. C. 818 : as well as that he had it with him in the action afterwards, U. C. 819. This statue of Cestius, and the Amazon carried about by Nero, are not to be confounded, as one and the same.

established. But before this, it is clear from i. 15. that he must have had some trial or examination in Asia also; with the nature and results of which Timothy himself was acquainted, so that he is only reminded of them. If that was the case, we may reasonably conjecture that it was at his first apprehension, and probably before the proconsular governor; who, in the first half of the twelfth of Nero, U.C. 818, seems to have been Lucius Antistius Vetus, consul along with Nero U.C. 808, or more probably, Barea Soranus^o. But this is a point of no consequence.

It is with much more probability to be conjectured that, if Paul was apprehended and tried in Asia before he was sent to Rome, he was apprehended and tried at the very beginning of U.C. 819; and it is probable, as in the former instance, that he was subsequently sent to Rome, to be tried in person before the emperor, because he was a Roman citizen. His privilege, as that of such a citizen, seems to have been respected in the manner of his death at least, which all authorities are agreed in attesting was decapitation; whereas that of St. Peter, who was not a Roman citizen, was crucifixion.

The day of the martyrdom, both of St. Paul and of St. Peter, is traditionally reported to have been June 29, and the tradition may be so far founded in fact, as that the 29th of June might be the day of the martyrdom of one of them, if not of the other: and if St. Paul actually suffered upon any second audience and soon after his first, it might actually be the day of *his* martyrdom: for his first audience must have been earlier than the month of June at least.

When Nero set out to go to Achaia, he left his freedman Helius at the head of affairs, entrusted with absolute powers^p; and Helius continued at Rome in

^o Tacitus, *Annales*, xvi. 10. 23.
Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 1.

^p Dio, lxi. 12—19. Suetonius, *Nero*, 22.

possession of this authority, until a short time before the emperor's return. The character and cruelty of this man were as atrocious as those of his master ; and every day, during his administration, witnessed some execution or other *. By one of these two, it seems most probable that St. Paul was put to death, and soon after writing his Epistle to Timothy itself ; for there is no reason to suppose that he survived until Timothy, in obedience to his wish, came to Italy. On *that* principle, though we have rendered it probable that he arrived in the spring, he must have survived until after the autumnal equinox at least.

This circumstance in the situation of the times, when St. Paul suffered, viz. that the Roman empire, or the city of Rome, was then subject to more than one master, seems to be implied in the words of Clemens Romanus, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων^r, the meaning of which has been much perverted. The expression may be understood of Nero and Helius ; and it is but parallel to a similar observation of the historian Dio's, with reference to the same state of things^s : οὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ δύο αὐτοκράτορσιν ἅμα ἐδούλευσε, Νέρωνι καὶ Ἡλίῳ.

As to St. Peter—when he first came to Rome before his death, and how long he had been there when that happened ; whether he was brought there as a prisoner, or whether he was apprehended in Rome itself ; before whom he was tried, and at what time of the year he suffered ; these are points on which we are destitute of positive information, and can advance only conjectures. The total absence of any allusion to him, in the Epistle to Timothy, seems to me a strong presumptive argument that he was either not

* Dio, lxiv. 3. he was put to death by Galba, U. C. 821.

^r Ad Corinthios Epistola ia. *loco citato.*

^s lxiii. 12.

alive, or not present at Rome when that Epistle was written; and this we may presume would be the case, if the reasons, which we have assigned, render it probable that he died sometime in U. C. 818, and not in U. C. 819.

As to the time of his death, it is possible that it might happen U. C. 818, about the same time as St. Paul's in the next, U. C. 819. It is a singular circumstance in reference to this point, that the *Chronographia* of Nicephorus^t, in contradistinction to many other ancient computations of the same thing, makes the length of his sitting at Rome two years' time. If this implies that he came there two years before his death, it implies that he came there U. C. 816, or at the latest, U. C. 817; and this would agree very well with the probable date of his Second Epistle, which might thus be written from Rome just before, or in the midst of the persecution against Christianity; and the allusion to his own death, as at hand^u, would in that case be any thing but out of place. There is no way, as it appears to me, of accounting for the assertion of Nicephorus, except this; either that Peter stayed two years at Rome on his first visit, or came back thither two years before his death on his second; in which case he might be said to have sate there two years. The first of these facts has, indeed, been rendered probable elsewhere^v; but the latter appears more naturally to be what Nicephorus meant. In this case, the date of his martyrdom would be U. C. 818, A. D. 65, as that of St. Paul's was the ensuing year, U. C. 819, A. D. 66*.

* The same chronologer, and that of St. James, stoned by (Syncellus, i. 746. 18,) places the Jews, each about the same the martyrdom of Peter and time.
Paul at Rome, under Nero,

^t Apud Syncellum, i. 768. 5.
vol. i. 114, 115.

^u 2 Pet. i. 13, 14, 15.

^v Dissertation ii.

APPENDIX.

SUPPLEMENT TO DISSERTATION XV. AND APPENDIX DISSERTATION XIX.

On the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.

THE Exposition of the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, which has just been completed, has been principally directed to shew the historical fulfilment of the prophecy, agreeably to those principles of interpretation which were previously laid down. A careful revision of that Exposition, which I have thought it necessary to institute at the end of the whole, has induced me to think, that though nothing perhaps can be added to the completeness of the proof of the fulfilment of the prophecy, in all its parts; the principles on which the interpretation proceeds are too generally stated to be considered placed on a solid and substantial footing; and that in order to shew their reasonableness and their truth, it is advisable to explain and defend them somewhat at large. With this view, I propose to resume the discussion of the prophecy; yet so as to avoid all unnecessary repetition, and to confine myself as much as possible to such points as are strictly supplementary.

It will be found of material advantage to this discussion, that we should possess the means of referring both to the original text of the prophecy, and to some of the most esteemed of the versions, distinct from our own, which were made of it in ancient times. I shall produce, therefore, first of all, the text of the prophecy, from Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, and side by side our own Bible translation, with the marginal variations: afterwards the versions of Theodotion and of the Septuagint, both from the text of Holmes' edi-

tion of the Septuagint, with the various readings of the Alexandrine MS. from Grabe; and such fragments of the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, or of any other, as are to be found in Montfaucon's edition of the Hexapla: and lastly, the Latin version of the Syriac and the Arabic, and the text of the Latin Vulgate, from Walton's Polyglott.

DANIEL IX. 24—27.

Hebrew Text.

שבעים שבועים 24
נחתך על עמך ועל עיר קדשך לכלא
הפשע ולחתם חטאות ולכפר עון
ולהביא צדק עלמים ולחתם חזון ונביא
ולמשה קדש קדשים:

25 ותדע ותשכל מן מציא דבר להשיב
ולבנות ירושלם עד משיח נגיד שבועים
שבעה ושבועים ששים ושנים ושוב
ונבנתה רחוב וחרוץ ובצוק העתים:

26 ואחרי השבועים ששים ושנים
יכרת משיח ואין לו חזקת חקדש ישחית
עם נגיד הבא וקצו בשטף ועד קץ
מלחמה נחרצת שממות:

English Bible.

24 SEVENTY WEEKS
are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city,
||to finish the transgression, || *Or, to restrain.*
and || to make an end of sins, || *Or, to seal up.*
and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and †prophecy, † *Heb. prophet.*
and to anoint the most Holy.

25 Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, *shall be* seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street †shall be built again, † *Heb. shall return and be built.*
and the || wall, even †in trou-
blous times. || *Or, breach or ditch.*

26 And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, ||but not for himself: † *Heb. in strait of times.*
and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy nothing.
the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof *shall be* with a flood, and unto the end of the war ||desolations are determined. || *Or, it shall be cut off by desolations.*

Hebrew Text.

27 והגביר ברית לרבים שבוע אחד
והצי השבוע ישבית זבח ומנחה ועל
כנה שקהצים משמם ועד כלה ונחרצה
תתך על שומם :

English Bible.

27 And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week : and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and || for the overspreading of ^{|| Or, with the abomin-} abominations he shall make ^{able} it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

Theodotion.

24 ἘΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ ἘΒΔΟΜΑΔΕΣ
συνετημήθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου^α,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν^β, τοῦ
συντελεσθῆναι^γ ἁμαρτίαν^δ καὶ
τοῦ σφραγίσαι^δ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ
ἀπαλεῖν^ε τὰς ἀδικίας^ε· καὶ τοῦ
ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας, καὶ τοῦ ἀγα-
γεῖν δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον· καὶ
τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὅρασιν καὶ προφή-
την, καὶ τοῦ χρῖσαι ἅγιον ἁγίων.

25 Καὶ γνώση καὶ συνήσεις,
ἀπὸ ἐξόδου λόγου τοῦ ἀποκριθῆ-
ναι, καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομησάι Ἱερου-
σαλὴμ, ἕως Χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου,
ἐβδομάδες ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἐβδομάδες
ἐξήκοντα δύο· καὶ ἐπιστρέψει
καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσεται πλατεία, καὶ
τείχος^δ, καὶ ἐκκενωθήσονται οἱ
καιροί.

26 Καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐβδομάδας
τὰς ἐξήκοντα δύο, ἐξολοθρευθή-
σεται^η χρίσμα, καὶ κρίμα οὐκ
ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ τὴν πόλιν
καὶ τὸ ἅγιον διαφθερεῖ σὺν τῷ

The Septuagint.

24 ἘΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ ἘΒΔΟΜΑΔΕΣ
ἐκρίθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ
ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Σιών, συνετε-
λεσθῆναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ τὰς
ἀδικίας σπανίσαι, καὶ ἀπαλεῖν^ε
τὰς ἀδικίας, καὶ διανοηθῆναι τὸ
ὄραμα, καὶ δοθῆναι δικαιοσύνην
αἰώνιον, καὶ συνετελεσθῆναι τὰ
ὁράματα καὶ προφήτην, καὶ εὐ-
φράναι ἅγιον ἁγίων.

25 Καὶ γνώση, καὶ διανοηθή-
ση, καὶ εὐφρανθήση, καὶ εὐρή-
σεις προστάγματα ἀποκριθῆναι,
καὶ οἰκοδομήσεις Ἱερουσαλὴμ
πόλιν Κυρίου.

26 Καὶ μετὰ ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἐβδομή-
κοντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο ἀποστα-
θήσεται χρίσμα, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται,
καὶ βασιλεία ἐθνῶν φθερεῖ τὴν
πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον μετὰ τοῦ

^α Codex Alex. Ἰσραήλ.
^ε ἀνομίας. ^ζ περίτειχος.

^β σου. ^γ συνετελέσαι.
^η ἐξολοθρευθήσεται.

^δ ὅρασιν ἁμαρτίας.

Theodotion.

ἡγουμένῳ τῷ ἐρχομένῳ^θ, ἔκκοπή-
σονται ἐν κατακλυσμῷ, καὶ ἕως
τέλους πολέμου συντετμημένον^ι
τάξει ἀφανισμοῖς.

27 Καὶ δυναμώσει διαθήκην
πολλοῖς ἐβδομάς μία· καὶ ἐν τῷ
ἡμίσει τῆς ἐβδομάδος^κ ἀρθήσεται
μου θυσία καὶ σπονδὴ, καὶ ἐπὶ
τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώ-
σεων^λ. καὶ ἕως τῆς συντελείας
καιροῦ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ
τὴν ἐρήμωσιν.

The Septuagint.

χριστοῦ· καὶ ἥξει ἡ συντέλεια
αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀργῆς, καὶ ἕως καιροῦ
συντελείας, ἀπὸ πολέμου πολε-
μηθήσεται.

27 Καὶ δυναστεύσει ἡ διαθήκη
εἰς πολλοὺς, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιστρέ-
ψει, καὶ ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται εἰς
πλάτος καὶ μῆκος, καὶ κατὰ συν-
τέλειαν καιρῶν· καὶ μετὰ ἐπτὰ καὶ
ἐβδομήκοντα καιροὺς, καὶ ἐξή-
κοντα δύο ἔτων, ἕως καιροῦ συν-
τελείας πολέμου, καὶ ἀφαιρεθή-
σεται ἡ ἐρήμωσις, ἐν τῷ κατι-
σχύσαι τὴν διαθήκην ἐπὶ πολλὰς
ἐβδομάδας, καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς
ἐβδομάδος ἀρθήσεται ἡ θυσία,
καὶ ἡ σπονδὴ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν
βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται
ἕως συντελείας, καὶ συντέλεια
δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν.

Aquila.

Alius.

Symmachus.

24 Ἐδοκιμάσθησαν.

Ἐκρίθησαν.

24 Ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου,
καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν ἡγιασμένην σου,
τοῦ συντελέσαι τὴν ἀθεσίαν,
καὶ τοῦ τελειῶσαι ἁμαρτίαν,
καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀνομίαν.

26 Καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐπτὰ ἐβδο-
μάδας, καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο, ἐξολο-
θρευθήσεται ἡλειμμένος, καὶ οὐκ
ἔστιν αὐτῷ.

καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον
διαφθερεῖ λαὸς ἡγουμένου ἐρχο-
μένου.

24 Κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ σου,
καὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἁγίας σου.

26 Καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐβδομάδας
ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο, ἔκκοπή-
σεται Χριστὸς, καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξει
αὐτῷ.

^θ καὶ. ^ι συντετμημένου. ^κ καταπαύσει θυσιαστήριον καὶ θυσίαν, καὶ ἕως
περυγίου ἀπὸ ἀφανισμοῦ καὶ ἕως συντελείας καὶ σπονδῆς τάξει ἐπὶ ἀφανισμοῦ καὶ
δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἐβδομάς μία, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τῆς ἐβδομάδος. ^λ ἔσται.

The Arabic.

The Vulgate.

The Syriac.

24 SEPTUAGINTA
HEBDOMADES præ-
finitæ sunt super po-
pulum tuum, et super
urbem sanctam, ut ab-
sumantur peccata, et
obsignentur peccata,
et deleantur iniquita-
tes, et impetretur ve-
nia pro impietate, et
adducatur justitiase-
mpiterna, et obsignetur
visio et prophetia, et
ungatur Sanctum san-
ctorum.

25 Scias etiam et in-
telligas: Ab egressu
sermonis, ut respon-
deat et ædificetur Je-
rusalem, usque ad
Christum ducem, sep-
tem hebdomades e-
runt, et sexaginta
duæ hebdomades:
tunc iterum ædifica-
bitur platea et mu-
rus, et terminabuntur
tempora.

26 Et post septem
hebdomades et sexa-
ginta duas hebdoma-
des eradicabitur un-
ctio, et non erit in eo
judicium, et destruet
urbem et locum san-
ctum una cum duce
venturo: et exscin-
dentur diluvio: usque

24 SEPTUAGINTA
HEBDOMADES ab-
breviatæ sunt super
populum tuum, et su-
per urbem sanctam
tuam, ut consumme-
tur prævaricatio, et
finem accipiat pecca-
tum, et deleatur ini-
quitas, et adducatur
justitia sempiterna, et
impleatur visio, et
prophetia, et ungatur
Sanctus sanctorum.

25 Scito ergo, et ani-
madverte: Ab exitu
sermonis, ut iterum
ædificetur Jerusalem,
usque ad Christum
ducem, hebdomades
septem, et hebdoma-
des sexaginta duæ e-
runt: et rursus ædi-
ficabitur platea, et mu-
ri in angustia tempo-
rum.

26 Et post hebdo-
mades sexaginta duas
occidetur Christus: et
non erit ejus * popu-
lus, qui eum negatu-
rus est. et civitatem
et Sanctuarium dissi-
pabit populus cum
duce venturo: et finis
ejus vastitas, et post

24 SEPTUAGINTA
HEBDOMADÆ mo-
rabuntur super popu-
lum tuum, et super
civitatem sanctitatis
tuam, ut aboleantur
scelera, et consuman-
tur peccata; ut re-
mittatur iniquitas, et
adducatur justitia quæ
est ab æterno, ut com-
pleantur visio et pro-
phetæ; et usque ad
Christum, Sanctum
sanctorum.

25 Igitur scias et in-
telligas: Ab egressu
verbi usque ad reædi-
ficationem Jerosoly-
mæ, et ad adventum
Christi regis, hebdoma-
dæ septem erunt, et
hebdomadæ sexaginta
duæ: tum iterum ædi-
ficabit Jerosolymam,
et vicos atque plateas
ejus usque ad finem
temporis.

26 Post hebdomadas
autem sexaginta duas
occidetur Christus, et
non erit penes ipsam:
Civitas etiam sanctita-
tis destruetur cum
rege venturo, et exi-
tium ejus erit cum
erasure usque ad fi-
nem belli sententiæ

* Jerome, Operum i. p. 1013. A. these words, "populus, qui eum negaturus est," are omitted.

*The Arabic.**The Vulgate.**The Syriac.*

ad finem belli præ- finem belli statuta de- vastitatis.
scripti disponetur va- solatio.
statio.

27 Confirmabit au-
tem pactum multis he-
bdomas una: et in me-
dio hebdomadis ces-
sabunt altaria et sa-
crificia; et usque ad
extremitatem erit va-
stitas, et usque ad fi-
nem. statimque dis-
ponet ad vastitatem,
et pactum confirma-
bit multis hebdomas
una: et in dimidio
hebdomadis auferetur
sacrificium meum, et
libamen meum: et su-
per Sanctuarium erit
abominatio ruinæ: et
usque ad consumma-
tionem temporis im-
ponetur finis ruinæ.

27 Confirmabit au-
tem pactum multis
* hebdomadâ unâ: et
in dimidio hebdoma-
dis deficiet hostia et
sacrificium: et † erit
in templo abominatio
desolationis: et usque
ad consummationem
et finem persevera-
bit desolatio‡.

27 Et grave reddet
fœdus multis hebdo-
mada una, et dimidium
hebdomadæ, abolebit-
que sacrificium et ob-
lationem: denique su-
per extremitates abo-
minationis *incumbet*
vastitas: usque ad
consummationem sen-
tentia manebit in va-
stitate.

* Jerome, loco citato: "he-
bdomada una."

† Jerome, loco citato: "in
templo erit."

‡ The modern Latin Vulgate,
as is well known, is Jerome's
revision of the ancient Italic,
or Latin Vulgate, or rather an
entirely new version of the Old
and New Testament by him.
If the reader thinks it a desi-
deratum, not to possess the text
of the prophecy as it stood in
this ancient Vulgate—detached
portions of it might be gleaned

from the works of the Latin
Fathers older than Jerome^a—but
the whole of it, as it happens, is
preserved in one of the extant
remains of the most ancient of
these Fathers, Tertullian, Ad-
versus Judæos, cap. 8: Operum
ii. 293. We may presume, at
least, that this is a version of the
prophecy which Tertullian took
from the Vulgate of his own
time, rather than one which he
made for himself. In any case,
the reader may be curious to see
it, and to compare it with the

^a See in particular, the Libellus, De Mundi Duratione, of Quintus Julius Hila-
rio, quoted vol. i. 464. The date of this work, indeed, is A. D. 397, four years later
than Jerome's version of the Prophets: yet the author of it was, undoubtedly, not
acquainted with this version. The old Italic version, however, it is to be observed,
there is every reason to suppose was made from the Septuagint, or other Greek
versions, not from the Hebrew, as Jerome's was.

I shall offer no remarks on these versions at present,

above; especially with Jerome's.

LXX hebdomadæ breviatæ sunt super plebem tuam, et super civitatem sanctam, quoadusque inveteretur delictum, et signentur peccata, et exorentur *injustitiæ*, et inducatur justitia æterna. et ut signetur visio et prophetes, et ut ungatur sanctus sanctorum.

Et scies et perspicies, et intelliges a professione sermonis, integrando et reedificando Hierusalem usque ad Christum ducem, hebdomades LXII et dimidia, et convertet et ædificabitur in læticiam, et convallationem, et innovabuntur^a tempora,

Et post hebdomadas has LXXII. et exterminabitur unctio, et non erit, et civitatem sanctam exterminabit cum duce adveniente, et concidentur quomodo in cataclysmo usque in finem belli, quod concidetur usque ad interitum:

Et confirmabit testamentum in multis. hebdomada una, et dimidia hebdomadis auferetur meum sacrificium et libatio, et in sancto execratio vastationis, usque ad finem temporis consummatio dabitur super hac^b vastationem.

It is evident that the above version approaches more nearly to Theodotion's standard of the Hebrew text, than to that of the Septuagint. But that it was not taken from Theodotion implicitly, appears from the differences between them; and will

still further appear by comparing it with another Latin version of the same prophecy, not many years later than this of Tertullian's, and still preserved in the De Pascha Computus, ascribed to Cyprian; the date of which is A. D. 243. Vide the treatise in question, p. 68^c.

LXX hebdomades breviatæ sunt super populum tuum, et super civitatem illam sanctam, ut consummetur peccatum, et ut signentur peccata, et deleatur injustitia, et expientur injustitiæ, et ut reducatur justitia æterna, et ut signetur visio et prophetia, et ut ungueatur sanctum sanctorum.

Et cognosces et intelliges, ab exitu sermonis ut respondeatur, et ut ædificetur Hierusalem, usque ad Christum ducem, hebdomades VII et hebdomades LXII: et convertetur et ædificabitur platea, et murus, et exinanientur tempora:

Et post hebdomadas has LXII, disperibit unctio, et judicium non est in eo: et civitatem, et illum sanctum corrumpet cum illo duce qui veniet, et excidentur in cataclysmo, et usque ad finem belli breviati exterminii.^d

Et confirmabit testamentum multis hebdomas una: et in dimidio hebdomadis auferetur meum sacrificium et libatio, et super illum sanctum execratio vastationum, et usque ad consummationem temporis consummatio dabitur super hanc^b vastationem.

This

^a "Innovabuntur." Among the various readings of the text of Theodotion in the latter part of this verse, one is, *ἐκκαινωθήσονται*, for *ἐκκαινωθήσονται*. ^b "Super hac," or "hanc:" as if in the Greek were read, *τῇδε*, not *τὴν ἐρήμωσιν*. But *hic* is here used for the Greek article. So just before, *post has*. ^c This version is not noticed in the edition of the Septuagint, from which I have quoted the text of Theodotion.

^d "Breviati exterminii:" *συντετριμμένον ἀφανισμοῦ*. *Τάξει*, which follows *συντετριμμένον* in the Greek of Theodotion, is wanting in some copies of that version. 'Αφανισμοῦ also is among the various readings for *ἀφανισμοῖς*.

further than to observe that the Arabic, besides being the most recent one, is scarcely to be considered distinct from Theodotion's, especially according to the Alexandrine MS. upon which it appears to have been founded; and as to the Septuagint version in particular, it exhibits too much confusion and perplexity, and differs too widely from the Hebrew text, especially after the first verse, to deserve the name of a faithful representation of the original, at least as it now stands; and if it was not made from a copy of the Hebrew very different from the present Vulgate, it must have been so much corrupted since, as to retain few or no traces of what it might once have been.

It is of obvious importance to any future scheme of interpretation of the prophecy, that we should begin with satisfying ourselves of the number of weeks which it contains; for whatever may be meant by those weeks, their number is the first thing to be determined. To judge from the version of the Septuagint, there would appear to be reason to conclude that this number was represented, if not at the beginning of the prophecy, yet somewhere in the course of it, at seventy and seven: but to judge from the concurrent testimony of all the other versions, we should equally conclude that it could no where be represented at more than seventy. This difference is not of slight importance: and having to choose between the two representations in question, it seems only reasonable that we should prefer the concurrent testimony of five of the above versions, to that of one; especially as such

This version is Theodotion's almost word for word; and it is worth while to observe the scrupulousness with which the author of it has endeavoured to preserve the article, where it stood in the Greek text, in his Latin translation also; render-

ing it by *ille* in some instances, and by *hic* in others: as Beza has done in his version of the New Testament, and our own translators, in one or two instances; rendering it by *that* instead of *the*. Traces of the same peculiarity appear in Tertullian's version also.

reasons may be assigned for the probable origin of the difference between these versions and the Septuagint, that we may fairly consider the authority of this last *pro tanto* to be superseded and set aside*.

* The Septuagint version of the Book of Daniel in particular, it is well known, was excluded by Origen from his elaborate edition of the Hexapla; and that of Theodotion substituted in its stead. From that time forward, this version gradually fell into disuse; and in modern times it was considered to be irrecoverably lost, until a copy of it was discovered in the Chisian library at Rome, contained in a MS. supposed to be almost nine hundred years old; and from this it was published A. D. 1772.

A comparison of this version in its present state, with the Hebrew text, would shew that Origen had good reason to deny it a place in the Hexapla, at least in preference to that of Theodotion. To go no further than the present prophecy: what a multitude of interpolations occur in the compass of four verses—to which there is nothing to answer in the Hebrew—and what a singular confusion is there of the last three verses in particular with each other! Under such circumstances, the authority of the Septuagint, where it differs both from the Hebrew and from the other versions, as it does more particularly in the translation of the numeral notes at the beginning of verse 26, (the threescore and two weeks,) must go for nothing. It is not easy to conceive what the reading of that Hebrew copy could have been, according to which the begin-

ning of verse 26 would be faithfully rendered by καὶ μετὰ ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο—without any word which might answer to *weeks*, and consequently so as to be absolutely ungrammatical: or the middle of verse 27, by καὶ μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καιροὺς, καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο ἔτων—which is scarcely grammatical only on the supposition that καιροὺς ἔτων are to be construed together—in the sense of times or seasons of years.

In the midst of this uncertainty, the only point on which we can rest with satisfaction is the fact that even the Septuagint has rendered the numeral note at the beginning of the prophecy, declaratory of the number of weeks contained in it generally, by ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδες—agreeably both to the *apparent*, and certainly to the *possible* sense of the original, and also to the construction which each of the other versions has put upon it. This is quite sufficient to convince us that that numeral note at least is rightly interpreted in them all. And as to the difference in the other instance, at the head of verse 26, it may be partly accounted for by the fact that שבועים written without points, is capable of denoting both *seventy* and *weeks*. It is a possible case, that the Hebrew text at the head of verse 26, might have been interpolated from verse 25; that is, that the numeral notes at the end of the first clause of verse 25.

It will not, I presume, be denied, that seventy weeks may be a just version of the numeral note at the beginning of verse 24: and it seems only a reasonable presumption beforehand, that if no more than seventy are specified at the outset, no more than seventy will be found to be specified in the sequel: and this conclusion is so far confirmed by the sequel, that no number greater than seventy appears to be mentioned in the course of the prophecy, though others may be so which are less; and still more, that how many numbers soever smaller than seventy may be specified in the course of the prophecy, yet all put together are only equal to seventy, or at the utmost to seventy and one half. It would seem to be a natural inference from this relation of the numbers to each other, that seventy—the number premised at the outset—is the total, and the numbers less than seventy, mentioned in the sequel, are its component parts. In this case, it would naturally be to be expected that the several smaller numbers, specified in the sequel, put together, should

might have been repeated at the head of verse 26. Translated back into Hebrew, the Septuagint version of verse 26. must have stood *ואחרי שבעה שבועים* שנים—in which the second and third words might have been fetched from the middle of verse 25. And though the second of them denoted *WEEKS* where it stood in verse 25, it might be construed to denote *seventy*, in the new place, from the ambiguity of the word in question, alluded to.

The same explanation may be given of the repetition of these numbers, at the middle of verse 27—for, however they might get into that position, they are obviously made up of *ואחרי שבעה* ושבעים, and some word answering

to *καίρους*: and *שנים* followed by some word to answer to *ἐτῶν*. Now both these might have been derived upon the whole from verse 25. or the beginning of verse 26—with the exception of the two words answering to *καίρους* and to *ἐτῶν* respectively. As to the second of these, *שנים* in Hebrew is capable of being rendered in Greek by *δύο* or by *ἐτῶν*, for it may denote both. The repetition of this word by any means in the text would account for the *ἐτῶν* at once. As to the other, answering to *καίρους*, which in Hebrew would be *ערים* or *דערים*, this word actually appears, as a various reading, in Kennicott in loco; to whom I refer the reader.

just be equivalent to the one larger number, premised at the outset ; for it would naturally be to be expected that the whole should be equal to its parts.

Now as the whole number specified at the outset is seventy, but the minor numbers mentioned in the sequel are seven, and sixty and two, and one—all together equal to seventy ; then if there was any relation between these numbers to each other, and if the numbers were only distinct—that the prophecy did not contain *less* than seventy weeks might justly be taken for granted ; but whether it might not contain *more* would admit of a question. Considering the modes of speaking in general, and particularly the idiom of the Hebrew language, no one could undertake to say beforehand that even though the true number of weeks always intended were seventy, and some other number small and insignificant in comparison of seventy ; it would not always have been expressed by seventy, in any *general* statement premised to the whole ; especially when that *general* statement at the outset was about to be followed by the definition of *particulars* in the sequel—which would shew the number that was actually intended. No one, therefore, could undertake to say beforehand, that the general statement of seventy weeks, which occurs at the head of the prophecy, on the principle of expressing in round numbers, what might really be meant of the round number and a fraction, might not possibly be intended of seventy weeks and *one half*, and would not have been similarly expressed if it was. And this *possible* sense of the general statement at the outset, is so far shewn, by the numbers in detail which follow, to be the *actual* sense ; that besides the seven weeks, and sixty and two weeks, and one week, all together equal to seventy weeks, which therein occur, an allusion is found to an *half*

week—which is either included in the one week, or distinct from it. In the one case, the number of weeks is seventy, in the other, it is seventy and an half. And as the last of these cases is just as possible, and just as agreeable to the *prima facie* sense and meaning of the original, as the first; we may take it for granted, for any thing that has yet appeared to the contrary, that though the prophecy cannot contain less than seventy weeks, it may contain as many as seventy and an half.

Again, supposing the sum total of weeks contained in the prophecy to have been thus determined as neither less than seventy nor greater than seventy and an half; the next consideration would seem to be, Whether these weeks were continuous or interrupted? Whether they were to be regarded as forming all together an unbroken series and succession of weeks, of the number in question, or only in parts? It cannot be denied that the determination of this point is a very necessary preliminary to any future exposition of the prophecy: it cannot be denied too that great diversity of opinion has existed and may exist about it: that some expositors of the prophecy, both ancient and modern, have treated the weeks as continuous, others as discontinuous; and that the greatest difference of results has been introduced into their respective schemes of interpretation accordingly.

Now though it is barely possible that the weeks might have been intended to be discontinuous; it is much more probable that they were always designed to be continuous. Arguing on the principles of common sense, and from the obvious, *prima facie* construction of language; we can conceive no reason why such and such a number of weeks should be said to be *determined* for such and such purposes; if these purposes were not always intended to be brought to pass

and accomplished within these weeks, and, consequently, (if these weeks may only be assumed to denote a certain space of time,) the weeks to be as definite as the purposes which were to be accomplished within them. Now a definite time, considered in relation to definite purposes, must be continuous: for the time being as fixed as the purposes, and each determinately related to the other, it is manifest that the time and the purposes must begin and proceed *pari passu*; the one can no more be interrupted than the other: while the purposes are pendent, the time must be current, and while the time is current, the purposes must be pendent; and neither can be fully accomplished, or come to an end, before or without the other.

This connection between the time assigned for the transaction of such and such effects, and the purposes always intended to be brought to pass within it, is clearly implied by the turn which the version of Theodotion, and it would seem that of Aquila, in conformity to the idiom of the Greek language, have here given to the words of the original at the commencement: ἐβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδες συνετμήθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν, ΤΟΥ συντελεσθῆναι ἁμαρτίαν, κ', τ. λ.: that is, Seventy weeks have been determined upon thy people, and upon the holy city, *for the sake of* such and such purposes. A set time had been prescribed for set purposes; and the one as determinate as the other. The connection between the two things is likewise implied in the version which appears to have been given almost unanimously to the original of the word *determined*; ἐκρίθησαν in the Septuagint and one of the Hexapla, ἐδοκιμάσθησαν in another of the Hexapla, *præfinitæ sunt* in the Arabic, *morabuntur* in the Syriac, *determined* in our own Bible. The Vulgate alone has rendered it by *abbreviatæ sunt*, and Theodotion by

συνετμήθησαν : between which and the former it would be difficult to say which was more agreeable to the literal sense of the original *. But whether the version be ἐκρίθησαν, or ἐδοκιμάσθησαν, or συνετμήθησαν, or determined, one thing is plainly implied in each case ; the appointment of a set time for corresponding purposes, and therefore the time as definite as the purposes : and, consequently, the time regarded in relation to the purposes, continuous ; especially, if the purposes, for which it is supposed to be set, are themselves connected, and all of such a nature as to be accomplished at once, or in regular succession one after another ; which is the case with the purposes specified in the prophecy, as will more fully appear hereafter.

Among the most natural presumptions, then, which we might bring with us to the consideration of this celebrated prophecy, this would be one ; that if it consisted of a determinate number of weeks, devoted to certain corresponding purposes, and these weeks only denoted a certain lapse and succession of time ; they would be found to be continuous—this lapse and succession of time, while it lasted, must be regular and uninterrupted. Nor is it a ground of objection to the reasonableness of this presumption, *prima facie*, that the whole number of weeks is divided into parts ; if those parts are only equal to the whole. There may be reasons for dividing the whole into these parts, or there may not. But the fact of the division proves nothing, while the parts may precede and follow each other in such an order as to make up one continuous whole.

* The original verb is חָתַךְ incidit, concidit, and so definit, determinavit, or the like. Referred to this sense, which is that of cutting in two, or cutting to pieces, συντέμνειν, in the sense

of to cut short or abridge, abbreviare, is as much derivative or secondary, as to define, to determine, to prescribe, or the like. Hilario, ut supra, renders it by *incisæ sunt*.

The seven weeks may join on to the sixty and two weeks ; and the sixty and two weeks to the half week and one week ; and the sum total may be a continuous whole of seventy weeks, or seventy weeks and an half, as before.

Again, supposing the number of weeks to be seventy, or at the utmost seventy and an half, and supposing this number of weeks to be continuous ; another preliminary consideration would be, What are we to understand by the weeks themselves ? In answer to this question, indeed, there is not likely to be much difference of opinion : still it is one of those points which every commentator on the prophecy must either take for granted, or begin with settling beforehand ; and it is not quite so self-evident, as to be obviously taken for granted. For weeks, in all languages, are properly periods of sevens, and periods of sevens of days ; and if the notion of periodic intervals of this description would manifestly be inapplicable in a case like this, it is clear that the word *weeks* cannot retain here its *specific* sense of periods of seven days each ; though, if there is any propriety in the use of such a term at all, to denote any other period, it must still retain its proper *general* sense of periods of sevens of some kind. And if it must denote a period of sevens of some kind, and those periods some kind and description of an uniform measurement of time ; it would be for us to consider whether, under the circumstances of the case, it could, without a manifest impropriety, be supposed to be used for a period of sevens of any kind and description of the uniform measurement of time, short of that of *years*. The measurement of time by any intervals *less* than days, would be more improper, under the circumstances of the case, than that by days ; and the

measurement by weeks, under the same circumstances, would be scarcely less applicable than that by days; and the measurement by months, scarcely less so than that by weeks. In this case, the sense of periods of sevens of any other description of the uniform measurement of time, (which, generally speaking, is by hours, or days, or weeks, or months, or years,) except the last, being excluded; what remains to be understood as the sense intended, but periods of sevens of *years*?

Some commentators, indeed, have maintained that the Hebrew שבעים among its other senses, may properly, and *ex vi termini*, denote weeks of years: which, if true, would decide this question at once. I cannot, however, agree with this opinion; to which I should consider it a great objection, that this possible sense of the word, so necessary to the true understanding of the original, has never once been divined, nor expressed, by any of the ancient versions, even those which in other respects are the most exact, and shew themselves the best acquainted with the true sense and meaning of the original. But, indeed, there is no necessity to call in the aid of nice, critical, or verbal distinctions, to determine a point, which may so obviously be left to common sense as this; that a word, which must denote a periodic measurement of time by intervals of *seven* of some kind or another, and under the circumstances of the case, regard being had to the scope and comprehension of the prophecy in all its parts, cannot, without a palpable absurdity, be understood of any periodic measurement of time by intervals of sevens, short of years, must be understood of sevens of years. If days had been alluded to in the prophecy by name, then regard to the idiom of the language of prophecy, a luminous instance of which

mode of speaking we have considered and explained at large elsewhere^c; might have suggested that *weeks* of *days* might possibly always have been intended of *weeks* of *years*. But there is no more mention in the prophecy of days than of years; of nothing but weeks and halves of weeks; that is, periods of sevens and halves of sevens, which yet, under the circumstances of the case, cannot have their proper meaning of periods of sevens of *days* at least.

Again, supposing it to have been concluded beforehand, on probable grounds, that the prophecy was one of seventy weeks, or at the utmost of seventy and an half; that these weeks were weeks of years; and that those weeks and those years were continuous; a very important preliminary consideration would still remain, What are we to understand by those years themselves? in other words, how many different senses might be given to the same word *year*; and how many different computations of time might each pass by the name of a *year*; and among these various senses, and various computations, which is the most likely to be the one intended? A classical reader would not require to be reminded that, among some of the nations of antiquity, the name of a year might be given to a day, to a month, to a period of three, or of four, or of six months, respectively; and actually was so, if ancient testimony is to be believed, at one period of their history. He would not require to be told of the year of ten months which once prevailed, and for a considerable length of time, among so celebrated a people as the Romans; and even among others of the nations of Italy, more ancient than the Romans.

And though these possible senses of the word *year*,

^c Supplement to Dissertation xii. Appendix.

and these possible computations of time denoted by it, should all be set aside, as none of them likely to be intended in the present instance; still there is one sense of the term, and one calculation of the interval of time denoted by it, which no one could undertake to say beforehand might not have been intended; I mean the lunar year. No one requires to be told that the lunar year is not only a possible computation of time, which might be adopted by any nation, and would answer the purpose of a year, if it were; but the year which once was actually in use among many of the nations of antiquity. In particular, it must be an obvious reflection that, from the time of the Exodus downwards, the lunar was that form of the year which, by Divine appointment, superseded all others among the Jews at least, with a view to the purposes of their peculiar polity both religious and civil, and more especially to the religious: a consideration which will doubtless be regarded, *prima facie*, a strong presumptive argument that the years in this prophecy of Daniel should turn out to be lunar, rather than any other; because the lunar would seem to be preeminently the *sacred* year; the year at least established by the Divine ordinance among the Jews, the countrymen of Daniel himself. Accordingly, it seems to have been the persuasion of most of the commentators on the prophecy anciently, that the years in question were lunar, and were to be calculated accordingly; nor have commentators been wanting even among the moderns, who have entertained the same opinion. It cannot therefore be considered unimportant to any interpretation of the prophecy beforehand, that we should inquire, What kind of year is to be understood by the years of which it speaks? Very different senses, it would appear, may be affixed to the same word, *year*; and

very different results, it is self-evident, must be the consequence, as we affix to it *this* sense or *that* in particular.

Now, though I should be far from contending that it was, *a priori*, absurd or impossible, that the lunar year might be intended ; yet, I think it may be fairly maintained that, under the circumstances of the case, it is not probable ; and that, for this simple reason, that in the popular use of language, nothing can be meant, or naturally understood to be meant, by an allusion to *years*, generally and indefinitely mentioned, but the natural, solar or tropical year ; the year which is determined by the periodic recurrence of the seasons, at the same distance of time asunder ; the year which is measured by the revolution of the heavens, from the same fixed point of space to the same fixed point again ; the interval which is comprehended between the ingress of the sun into any one of the signs of the zodiac, and the return of the sun to the same. No one, we might venture to say, in any language or among any people, in speaking of a calculation of time by *years*, generally and indefinitely stated, would understand any form of the year but this. The lunar year in particular would nowhere be understood to answer to this description ; because the lunar year is nowhere the natural measure of the recurrence of the seasons, or of the periodic revolutions of the heavenly bodies, like this. Now when the angel Gabriel in the present instance speaks of such and such *weeks*, that is, such and such *weeks* of *years*, being determined for such and such purposes ; he uses common or popular language ; and therefore he requires to be understood in the common or popular sense of it. He speaks of years, and of the events of years, as men ordinarily do when they talk of the lapse of time to come ; under-

standing by years nothing but the natural measure thereof, nothing but years absolutely, whatever that may be. If the lunar year is not absolutely *the* year, it cannot be the year intended in the use of such language. The solar year is absolutely, and under all circumstances, *the* year; and therefore it may be the year intended.

It is scarcely indeed conceivable that an angel, speaking in allusion to the *year*, as such, should mean any thing but the simple and natural form of the year, the solar or tropical year; or that an angel in particular should, under any circumstances, recognise any form of the year, as *the* year, but that. As to the argument in favour of the lunar year, as the sacred year among the Jews in particular, I think it can have little weight in the present instance, not merely because at the time of this interview of Daniel's with the angel, not only the Jewish form of the year, but every other Jewish ordinance was in abeyance; not merely because Daniel was now in Chaldæa, and not in his own country; but simply for this reason, that none of the purposes, with a view to which the ancient form of the year among the Jews had been changed by Divine appointment, and superseded by the lunar, was concerned, or about to be concerned, in the present prophecy, or in the purposes contemplated by it beforehand. No Jewish ordinance, or Jewish observance, is included in these purposes whatever; nothing, in short, that would require the Jewish measurement of time to be taken in any sense into account. If the lunar is that form of the year, by which this prophecy calculates future time, it must be not because the lunar was peculiarly the Jewish or sacred year, but because it was *the* year absolutely. And *this* it never can be supposed to be.

Polychronius*, an ancient Christian commentator on the book of Daniel, argues from the fact of Daniel's fasting three full weeks, which it appears must have included the time from the 14th to the 21st of the first sacred month at least^f; that he could not have considered himself bound to observe the feast of the Passover, in the land of his captivity and in the third of Cyrus, B. C. 534^g: why then should he have considered it incumbent upon him to reckon future time by the Jewish sacred year more particularly, under the same circumstances, in the first of Darius, B. C. 538? But, indeed, the question is not, In what manner the prophet Daniel might have considered it incumbent upon him to reckon future time, if it had been left to himself to choose his own mode of computing it, but, In what manner the angel Gabriel may most probably be supposed to have done so? for Daniel is only the recorder of the words of the angel, and whatever be the calculation of time recognised in the prophecy, it is not Daniel's but the angel Gabriel's: and no one, I should think, will consider it probable that an *angel*, speaking of the course and succession of time to come, and measuring its duration by weeks of years, would understand by that allusion any thing but the ordinary and natural measurement of time to come, by years, the periodic revolution of the solar or tropical year. So natural, indeed, does this presumption appear, that nothing but the force of prejudice, or the necessity of defending an hypothesis, could generate, it might be supposed, the least re-

* Bishop of Apamea and the brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia; vide Theodorit, E. H. v. 40. 248, 249; consequently contemporary with the fourth and fifth century.

^f Daniel x. 2—4. ^g Scriptorum Deperditorum Vaticana Collectio, i. Polychronius, in Daniel. x. 142. E—K.

luctance to admit its reasonableness and propriety at once. In the minds of unprejudiced inquirers, however, it will never be deemed a ground of objection beforehand, to the probable success of a particular scheme of interpretation, that it proposes to treat the years of the prophecy, as what they are, or, *prima facie*, appear to be; and it may always, on the other hand, without injustice, be regarded, *a priori*, a suspicious circumstance in a proposed interpretation, however plausible and ingenious it may turn out to be in other respects, that it cannot hold good, except by contravening, *in limine*, this first and most obvious of the principles which we should expect to be recognised beforehand in every scheme of the interpretation of the prophecy—the acceptance of its years in their natural, *prima facie*, sense, of solar or common years, and nothing else.

Commentators on the prophecy, however, have imagined another form of the year, which though neither a lunar nor a solar, some of them appear inclined to prefer to either. To this year, they have given the name of the Prophetical; as if the prophetic year in particular must be something different from every other form of the year besides: and they suppose it to consist of 360 days; which is six days more than the lunar, and almost six days less than the solar. Under a persuasion, too, that this was the form of year in use in Chaldæa or Babylon, they call the same year the Chaldaic; and because Daniel was now in Chaldæa or Babylon, they seem to take it for granted, that he must adopt of course the Chaldaic or Babylonish year, as the basis of his own calculations of time to come.

But, admitting for argument's sake the supposed matter of fact, that this kind of year was actually now in use at Babylon, and admitting that Daniel was now

there ; still we may contend it would not follow that Daniel must have used this particular form of the year in the present instance ; for the question would not be, as we before observed, What form of the year Daniel was most likely to use, if left to himself, but what form of the year the angel Gabriel was most likely to intend, in a general allusion to it : and if it is highly improbable that an angel, under such circumstances, would mean any thing but the true simple and natural notion of the year, this prophetical or Chaldaic year in particular could never be that which he intended. This prophetical or Chaldaic year has less claim to the description of the true, simple, and natural notion of the year, than even the lunar. A lunar year of 354 days is an actual reality. It measures, or may be considered to measure, the recurrence of one of the heavenly bodies at least, from the same fixed point in space to the same fixed point again : but a Chaldaic year of 360 days is a nonentity. It measures the periodic revolution of none of the heavenly luminaries. It is too much for the annual motion of the moon ; and too little for that of the sun or of the stars.

It cannot indeed be denied, in the face of ancient testimony, that a civil year of 360 days was actually once in use, among some of the nations of antiquity, and peradventure the Chaldees, among the rest : but it may also be maintained in perfect accordance to the same testimony, that it was never in use except at a period when the science of astronomy was very imperfectly understood ; nor ever except under an idea that this form of the civil year, inadequate as it was, represented the length of the true solar or tropical year : the sun's annual motion through the signs of the zodiac being supposed at that time to be accomplished in 360 days exactly, at the rate of 30 days or

one month to each. More accurate observations corrected this mistake; and ascertained the true interval of time taken up by the motion in question to be 365 days, and part of a 366th. From the time that this discovery was made, even that form of the civil year which consisted nominally of twelve months of thirty days each, or 360 days in all; consisted in reality of twelve months of thirty days each, and five super-numerary days, intercalated at the end of the year, and either making part of the twelfth month, or constituting a fraction of a month by themselves—or 365 days in all.

There was a tradition once current in the church, and resting on the authority of the Book of Enoch, that this discovery of the true length of the tropical year was first communicated by the angel Uriel, to the patriarch Enoch, and by the patriarch Enoch to the rest of the world^b. And without wishing my reader to ground his faith in this, or in any other article of his belief, upon the Book of Enoch; I will yet take the liberty of declaring my opinion, that this form of the civil year, of 365 days and no more, is the most ancient that ever was in use among mankind; that it was the year of the antediluvian world before the flood, and the year of the postdiluvian down to the Exodus at least; as I think might be proved with an high degree of probability from scripture itself; and that it continued to be in use among the Egyptians in particular, under the name of the Sothiacal year, the Thoth, or new year's day of which, was perpetually receding one day every fourth year, as low down as we have the means of tracing it—which is considerably beyond the gospel era.

^b Vide the Book of Enoch, chapter lxxi—lxxxix. Yet it is repeatedly asserted in this book, as it stands at present, that the true length of the solar or tropical year is 364 not 365 days.

Now, as the Chaldees were not behindhand with the Egyptians in the science of astronomy; and as there is good reason to believe that much of the knowledge on this subject, possessed by the ancient Egyptians, was borrowed originally from the Chaldees; we may take it for granted that the Chaldees knew as much of the true constitution of the year, as the Egyptians, long before the time of Daniel. The Chaldaic year, long before the time of Daniel, is known to have consisted already of 365 days, or 12 months of 30 days each, with five supernumerary days, or *ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι*, as much as the Egyptian: and the common origin of the Chaldaic and the Egyptian year of 365 days at least, with the moveable Thoth, or new year's day in question, always shifting backwards—and the reciprocal coincidence between a given date in the one and a corresponding date in the other—are demonstratively proved by this one fact, that the years of the celebrated era of Nabonassar, which began to bear date at Babylon upon February 26, B. C. 747, were years of this description, forming part of a corresponding series of Egyptian or Sothiacal years, beginning and proceeding alikeⁱ. How absurd, then, must it be to suppose, that B. C. 538, in the first of Darius, 209 years after this celebrated era had begun to be current at Babylon, and when innumerable astronomical observations had been made in conformity to it—many of them preserved to this day in the works of Ptolemy and others—the Chaldaic or Babylonian year could still have been one of 360 days, if it ever was? or though it might nominally still consist of twelve months of thirty days each, or 360 days in all, it was not *bona fide* a year of 365? as if the addition of five days at the end of 360 made no difference. How absurd, too,

ⁱ Vide Dr. Hales' Analysis of Sacred and Profane Chronology, vol. i. p. 142.

to imagine that, whatever degree of astronomical knowledge the Chaldees of this time possessed, the same or still more was not possessed by the prophet Daniel, who during the first three years of his captivity at Babylon, between B. C. 606 and 604, had been expressly instructed in all the learning of the Chaldees^k; and in the second of Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 603, had been promoted to the head of the governors of all the wise men, including the astrologers, which means the astronomers, generally^l *.

* In the Book of Daniel—and in the account of his visions, properly so called—the allusions which occur, requiring to be understood of periods of time, of some kind or other, are to the time, times, and the dividing of time, or time, times, and an half, vii. 25. and xii. 7. respectively; and to the 2300 days, viii. 14: and the 1290 days, xii. 11: and the 1335 days, xii. 12. Besides these, there is the allusion to the 21 days of the prince of the kingdom of Persia's opposition to Gabriel, x. 13: and to the seven times of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, iv. 16. 23. 32: neither of which, however, should we have occasion in this instance to take into account.

As to the rest, even those which specify a certain number of days, much greater than 360—as the 2300, the 1290, the 1335, respectively—so long as it is still undecided among commentators, whether these are literally periods of days, or periods of years to be understood by days, so long it must always be an arbitrary supposition to assume that they are literally pe-

riods of days which were always intended to be literally reduced to years, at the rate of 360 days to each. Not one of these numbers is an exact multiple of 360, or the half of 360. That which comes nearest to it, 1290, exceeds such a multiple (1260), by 30, and 1335, the next to that, exceeds it by 75. Hence, supposing even the other two allusions to the time, times, and an half—combined with these in the same record of prophecy—to be allusions to periods of three years and an half; it would not follow that these three years and an half in each instance were intended to be equivalent to any of those periods of days, literally understood, or those periods to be reduced to years, at the rate of 360 days to each. Such a reduction would not be possible: and therefore these periods of days, even if literally understood, must include more than three such years and an half at least. And as to those two periods of a time, times, and an half, themselves; if they must denote years and halves of years, why should they

^k Chap. i. 3—5. 17—20.

^l ii. 1. 48.

But were there any better foundation for this imaginary Chaldaic or prophetical year, in the truth of

denote any thing but natural years and halves of natural years? It seems to be agreed upon, that the same word in the Chaldaic, as applied to describe the interval of Nebuchadnezzar's madness — denotes seven such periods of natural years: and if natural years is its meaning in that instance, why should it denote any thing else in these?

In the Book of Daniel, therefore, we may safely assume, that there is no clear proof of this supposed reckoning of intervals of time greater than a year, by the prophetical or Chaldaic year, as it is called, of 360 days, but no more. It would be more to the purpose to quote Revelation xi. 3. xii. 6. compared with xi. 9. 11: xii. 14: xi. 2. xiii. 5: where 1260 days, three days and an half, a time, times, and half a time, and forty-two months, are all mentioned, apparently as synonymous with each other. Whether they are actually synonymous, indeed, this is not the proper place to inquire. They cannot be so, unless the 1260 days in the one instance be understood *literally*, and the three days and an half in another be understood *figuratively*. But, admitting that they were synonymous, the style of St. John would be no necessary criterion of that of Daniel. Besides, the same period of time being expressed in so many different ways, each must be understood in reference to the other, and each might be determined by a regard to the other. The 1260 days might be one of those modes

of describing the interval in question, because 42 months was another; there being no readier way of expressing 42 months in days, than by 42 natural periods of 30 days each. And 42 months might be one of those modes, because a time, times, and an half was so likewise: for a time, times, and an half, understood of three years and an half, if expressed in months, could not be more simply expressed than by 42 months, at the rate of 12 months to each. But in none of these cases, especially in the first, would it follow that, in reducing these periods to each other, or determining the *absolute* length of time expressed by any of them, allowance was not to be made for the true length of the natural year, as greater than one of 360 days at least.

In any case, there must be a wonderful difference between calculating a very small period of time comparatively speaking, according to this artificial standard, and a very large one: between calculating three years and an half, for instance, and four hundred and ninety-three or ninety-four. For what is the utmost difference between the true and the apparent time, that would be entailed in the former case? a difference of seventeen days. And what in the latter? a difference of nearly seven years.

Besides—when a period of time, whether longer or shorter, is expressed by days; if these days are figuratively to be understood of years—they prove nothing upon the present ques-

history, than there seems to be; it would still be a great objection to those schemes of interpretation of

tion. If they are to be literally understood of days—they are to be so; by which I mean, the days, at least, are natural days, and neither more nor less than what is ordinarily meant by a day—for commentators have not yet imagined a prophetic natural day, as they have done a prophetic natural year. In this case, the absolute length of time, denoted by such a period, is the absolute number of the days contained in it. Days may be an actual measure of time, as much as years; and days are naturally a prior measure of time to years. Days too are a much more precise and definite measure of time than years: and it seems to me a reasonable conjecture why prophetic periods have been much more generally expressed by days than years, even when intended to be literally understood—and the best explanation, too, of the secondary or figurative use of the same mode of speaking, when days are put for years—that days, as a measure of time, are the natural and prior, the more precise and definite, in comparison of years.

On this account, even when a definite period of time, like this in St. John, is expressed at one time by 1260 days, at another by 42 months, at another by a time, times, and an half—the true measure of its extent must be the 1260 days—from the first of the number to the last. The other measures are to be interpreted by this, and not this by those: and as so interpreted, while the 1260 days re-

main fixed and definite, and can signify neither more nor less than that number of days, from first to last, amounts to; the forty-two months will denote something as much less than forty-two actual months, and the time, times, and an half, something as much less than three actual years and an half, as 1260 is less than the sum total of actual days contained in the forty-two months, or three years and an half. Nor will it follow from this that the time, times, and an half, denote any thing but natural divisions of time; and consequently natural years: only that they are natural *years* compared in this instance with a certain number of natural *days*—and as far as that assumed number of natural days coincides with the actual number contained in these years, so far they are supposed to be commensurate, but no further.

Nor would it follow that because natural years, when thus specially compared with an absolute number of natural days, less than themselves, require, *pro tanto*, to be understood as abridged in their natural length; and to admit of being spoken of accordingly—an allusion to years indefinitely, without any such special comparison with an absolute number of days, would admit of being similarly qualified, or similarly understood: which is the mistake committed by those, who understand the allusion to the weeks of years in the prophecy, absolute and unqualified as it is, of prophetic

the prophecy which are based upon this calculation of its years, that the apparent length of time comprehended by it would differ materially from the true. It would appear to contain such and such a number of years, but it would really contain much less. And this difference, under the circumstances of the case, between the apparent length of time, and the true, would be much greater for long intervals of time than for short. Now unless this difference were intimated beforehand, and the

years of 360 days each. Had the length of time embraced by the prophecy been expressed by days, and not by years, there would have been no ambiguity about such a statement; nor any difficulty in ascertaining the true length of time in question: for it would have been a very easy thing to reduce these days to years or fractions of years; though no one in that case would have thought of reducing them to any thing but the corresponding number of literal years, or parts of years. And had the length of time in question been expressed by days and also by years; the true length of time would still have required to be understood as expressed by the former, and not by the latter. The latter, consequently, it would have been understood, would require to be accommodated to the former, and not the former to the latter; that is, estimating each in terms of the other, if the two measures of time did not absolutely coincide—we should have been expected to conclude that the years were so much less than their true length of natural years, as the given number of days was less than the actual amount of the days contained in that number

of natural years. We should not have been required to imagine a new standard of the year, to meet such a case—but we should have been expected to consider the natural standard, *pro tanto*, abridged and diminished below its natural extent; but merely that one mode of speaking might square with another—and the same absolute length of time, both as expressed by days, its true measure, and as expressed by years, its apparent measure, might so far be expressed alike. *A fortiori* could no one have been expected to understand an allusion to years absolutely, as a measure of time, of an allusion to any thing but natural years; and as neither qualified nor modified in any manner whatever, to natural years of neither more nor less than their natural length: which nevertheless they would do, who should first understand the years of this prophecy, of years of an arbitrary and fictitious standard, the prophetic, consisting of 360 days; and then sit down to reduce the years of this description, and the number of days contained in them—to years of the natural standard, consisting of 365 days and a fraction.

means of correcting it suggested ; the prophecy, generally expressed as it is, and construed according to the *prima facie* sense and meaning of its words, would lead to very erroneous results. Let the standard of the computation of time in the prophecy be supposed the prophetic or Chaldaic year, as it may ; still the standard of computation which must measure the *absolute* length of time embraced by it, or the *exact* interval comprehended between the point where it begins and the point where it ends, will be after all the solar or natural year : for there is no absolute measure of time, and of the exact interval comprehended between one event and another, but that. These two standards are not the same ; yet the one must be reduced to the other, if the prophecy is to be understood : for if the prophecy reckons by prophetic time, but the course of events is determined by solar time, the exact interval comprehended between the point where it sets out, and the point where it ends, can never be ascertained without an adjustment of the one to the other. To reduce prophetic years of 360 days each, to solar years of 365 days, five hours, forty-eight minutes, and fifty-one seconds, (which is the standard of the mean length of the solar or tropical year, according to Delambre,) is a work which can scarce ever be exactly effected, because the two standards of time in question are more or less incommensurable ; so that such and such a number of years of the former description can never be exactly expressed by such and such a number of years of the latter. But whether a given number of prophetic years admitted of being reduced to a perfect equality to a corresponding number of solar years, or not ; it may fairly be taken for granted, that the prophecy would be addressed from the first to hearers or readers, and would be expected to be studied from the first, and more or less understood, by hearers

and readers, multitudes of whom would never be capable of such reduction—would never be possessed of astronomical skill and information sufficient to qualify them for the task. It is much to be doubted, indeed, whether there was any where in the world, at the time of the delivery of this prophecy, or ever would be, before the time of its fulfilment arrived, a sufficient degree of astronomical skill and proficiency to qualify for the task of reducing 490 prophetic years of nominal time, to the corresponding number of solar years of actual time: for the knowledge of the true length of the solar or natural year, such as it is possessed by moderns, as the result of the combined labours and observations of more than four thousand years, would be requisite for that purpose. Yet without this knowledge, and without this previous adjustment of one of these standards of reckoning to the other; however plainly the prophecy might have specified the number of its weeks of years, it never could be understood what was the absolute length of time intended by it: however clearly it might have been defined where the decursus of its weeks was to begin, it never could be foreseen where they were destined to end. The prophecy, therefore, would lose its chief value, and certainly its most characteristic feature of distinction; which is that of serving as a chronological record of the future, and fixing events and their seasons with historical precision beforehand. And all this, as the necessary consequence of employing an anomalous standard of time, which had nothing to answer to it either in the solar or the lunar motions, over a space of nearly five hundred years to come; where, the longer the interval measured by the fictitious standard, the greater the deviation from the interval actually measured by the true; when the whole might so easily have been obviated,

and every end and purpose contemplated by this disclosure of the future, and this definition of times and seasons beforehand, so effectually provided for, by speaking in conformity to the common use of words, and intending to be understood in the common acceptance of them.

Again, supposing the number of weeks in the prophecy to be seventy, or seventy and one half; supposing these weeks continuous; supposing them to be weeks of years; and supposing these years to be common or natural, in the ordinary sense of the word: the next point for preliminary consideration would be, Where must they be considered to begin, and where must they be supposed to end? that is, though the prophecy itself may supply no date, as such, to mark its own commencement or its own termination, which was hardly to be expected; it would still be for us to consider beforehand, whether it may not possibly supply something else, which may serve the same purpose as a numeral note of time might have done.

Now to consider each of these questions distinctly—since the beginning of a certain interval of time is one thing, and the termination of it is another—we should have to determine in the first place, whether it might not be safely collected from the Hebrew text, supported by the concurrence of all the ancient versions, beforehand; that the particular event, defined by the prophecy as the point of departure from which the whole series of its weeks was to take its rise, was the going forth of some word or commandment: and in the next place, whether by this word or commandment, it might not be fairly presumed some decree or edict, properly so called, was intended; and by the going forth of the word or commandment, the publishing, issuing, or promulgating the edict or decree in

question. And as all edicts or decrees, properly so called, are the work of persons in authority, it would have to be considered whether the going forth of a word of this description could have any other meaning than the publishing of the formal act of some one of the reigning princes, or of those in authority under them ; as alone competent to the promulgation of edicts or decrees as such.

And supposing this question to have been decided in the affirmative, it would be necessary, in the next place, to consider, Whether the object or purpose, for which this word is supposed to go forth in the prophecy, that is, this edict of some one of the reigning princes of the time, to be issued, is not so plainly defined, that we might safely undertake beforehand to say what it must be? The English version has declared this object to be, “To restore and to build Jerusalem;” the version of Theodotion to be, τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι Ἱερουσαλήμ; the Vulgate or Jerome’s, Ut iterum ædificetur Jerusalem: between none of which and the rest is there any difference except what is merely verbal; one and the same part of the original, in this instance, being construed by our translators in the sense of *to restore*, by Theodotion, and as it would seem the Septuagint, in the sense of *to answer*, by Jerome or the Vulgate as simply equivalent to the idiomatic Hebrew mode of expressing the idea of *again*: while in understanding the general object or purpose of which this restoring or this answering was a part, and an auxiliary part, to be one and the same, viz. the building of Jerusalem, all these authorities[§] are agreed *. And that this one object or

* The origin of the version of Theodotion, in this instance, and of the Septuagint, if that also was τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι, like his, is very easily explained, if we consider the idiomatic Hebrew way of expressing ἀποκριθῆναι in Greek. This is by הָשִׁיב דָּבָר “to cause a

purpose must have been the main thing contemplated in the going forth of the word, or the promulgation of the edict in question, originally, may be fairly collected from the renewed allusion to it, as a thing not simply to be contemplated, but to be actually consummated, which occurs in the course of the prophecy, directly after: "The street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times:" where also, however much our different versions may vary in the sense they have given to the last words of this declaration, they are all agreed in their rendering of the allusion to the building again of the street, and the wall. This second allusion to such a topic ascertains and defines still more clearly the object for which it was first mentioned. It would not be said that the street and the wall *should* be built again, if one thing at least, contemplated by all that was supposed to have preceded, were not that they *might* be built again: but it might well be so said, if it was.

Among the most obvious presumptions, then, which we might form beforehand, and bring with us to the further examination of this memorable prophecy, one would be this: That whatever be the length of time embraced by it, and wheresoever it might be found to end, it could not take its rise from an earlier point of time, than the going forth of some decree of some one of the reigning princes of the time, with this specific object in view, to restore and to build Jerusalem; or, as we might render the first of these words *, "To

word to return"—that is, to answer. Hence, as the first words of the 25th verse, were, From going forth of a word, לְדַעַב, "to cause to return," it was the easiest of all constructions to suppose an ellipsis of דָּבַר: as if the word went forth to cause a

word to return, that is, to procure an answer: which is the construction that Theodotion and the Septuagint seem to have put upon the text.

* לְדַעַב, the proper meaning of which is rather "to cause to return," than to restore. Among

cause to return, and to build Jerusalem ;” a decree both to be issued with that object in view, and actually to be followed by the effect, if it was to be true, as the prophecy proceeded to affirm, that “ The street should be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times,” or as the marginal version of our own Bible, and the Vulgate, have it, “ even in strait of times.” Now the going forth of a decree of this nature would be of necessity a public act ; especially the decree of some one of the reigning princes of the time : and the public acts of persons in authority, especially the edicts and decrees of the reigning princes, are solemn and formal things, the dates of which are either specified on the front of the acts themselves, or may be otherwise ascertained, generally speaking, with historical precision : the issuing of which consequently is well calculated to answer the purpose of chronological notes of time.

Supposing, therefore, the proper point of departure to the series of the Seventy weeks, to have been thus ascertained, from its internal evidence, to be the historical date of the issuing of some edict or commandment of one of the reigning princes, with this express ob-

the meanings of the verb in this tense, To bring or lead back, is the first enumerated by Gesenius, and To restore, the fifth ; the only two instances of its use in this last signification, quoted by him in illustration of it, being the present text of Daniel, and Isaiah i. 26. The sense of causing to return, or bringing back, is just as applicable to that text of Isaiah, as to this of Daniel. The version of, “ to restore,” supposing that to be adopted, would lead to the inference that the subject of the event to come, contemplated by the prophecy,

was Jerusalem : whereas, in my opinion, it was not so much Jerusalem in particular as the captive Jews in general. The causing to return is to be understood of the causing to return from captivity—the bringing back to their own country of a certain body of the Jews, who before were exiles from it : and this causing to return or bringing back is just as applicable to the final end of the mission of Ezra, as to that of the mission of Zerubbabel, and is just as true of the effect of the one, as of that of the other.

ject in view; the next thing to be inquired would be, Where are we to look for this commandment itself, and what means do we possess of fixing and determining its date? Premising only, that as the prophecy itself was delivered in the first of Darius, only two years previously to the final transition of the Babylonian empire into the Persian—unless it was destined to have an immediate fulfilment, the public act or decree of any of the reigning princes, later than the date of the prophecy, must be the public act or decree of some one of the kings of Persia at least; there are three public acts or decrees, if not a fourth, which all commentators are unanimous in referring to kings of Persia, on record in the same scriptures which contain the account of the prophecy; any one of which might appear at first sight to answer the description in the prophecy, as the going forth of an edict or commandment of the reigning king, with this special object in view, to cause to return, and to rebuild Jerusalem: the decree of Cyrus, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23: Ezra i. 1—4: vi. 3, 4, 5: the decree of Darius, Ezra vi. 6—12: the decree of Artaxerxes, Ezra vii. 11—26: and the decree of Artaxerxes, if that also must be added to the number, Nehemiah ii. 7, 8. It happens, also, that the dates of these several edicts are so clearly defined by the decrees themselves, or by other criteria, in the years of the reigning kings—that there can be no doubt that the first bears date in the first of Cyrus: the second in the second of Darius; the third in the seventh of Artaxerxes: and the fourth in the twentieth of Artaxerxes. It is either agreed upon among commentators, likewise, or it admits of being proved with so high a degree of probability as scarcely to allow of a question, that by Cyrus, in the first of these instances, we are to understand the first Persian king of

that name; by Darius, in the second, the fourth, Darius Hystaspis; and by Artaxerxes, in the third and fourth, the sixth, Artaxerxes Longimanus: and this being the case, the chronology of the reigns of these princes has been ascertained and defined with so much exactness, that we may assume it as an unquestionable point, that the first of Cyrus must bear date from B. C. 536, the second of Darius, from B. C. 521, or at the latest, B. C. 520: the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus, from B. C. 458, and the twentieth of the same prince, from B. C. 444: and the edicts or decrees which were issued in each of these reigns respectively, will bear date from the same times also*.

* The first king of Persia, of whom any mention occurs in the Book of Ezra, is Cyrus, i. 1—iv. 5: the next is the king denominated Ahasuerus, iv. 6: the third, Artaxerxes, iv. 7: the fourth, Darius, iv. 5. 24—vi. 12. If these kings succeeded each other in the order in which their names are recited, and allusions to them occur in the course of the history—(which is certainly the most natural supposition of all—) then by the first, Cyrus, the founder of the empire, being understood to be meant, the king called Ahasuerus, next to him, is Cambyses his son and successor; Artaxerxes, the next to Ahasuerus, must have been Smerdis, the Magian; and Darius, the next to him, Darius Hystaspis. There is nothing in the Book of Ezra which can possibly shake these conclusions: so that we may assume them as implicitly true. And as to the beginning of these several reigns—the first of Cyrus will be considered by and

by. At present we may assume it to be fixed to B. C. 536. The reign of Cambyses cannot be placed earlier than B. C. 530, nor later than B. C. 529; though I hope to shew in a subsequent Dissertation, that it may bear date in the former of these years. In like manner the reign of Smerdis the Magian bears date B. C. 522. The reign of Darius Hystaspis is commonly dated B. C. 521: but I hope to shew in the subsequent Dissertation alluded to, that it really bore date B. C. 522.

The next king of Persia mentioned in Ezra is Artaxerxes, whose name first occurs, prophetically, at vi. 14, and in the regular course of the history at vii. 1—and thenceforward, to the end of the book. It is needless to add, that this Artaxerxes was Ezra's own contemporary; and as it appears from a comparison of the Book of Ezra with the Book of Nehemiah, see chap. viii. 1—xii. 26. 36, Nehemiah's contemporary also.

Now it is evident that edicts or decrees of the reigning princes of the time, bearing date in such different

Opinions have been divided whether this Artaxerxes was the sixth king of Persia, (that is, the sixth, if we omit the name of the usurper Artabanus,) Artaxerxes Longimanus, the son of Xerxes and grandson of Darius Hystaspis, or the eighth, (if we omit in like manner the short reigns of Xerxes ii. and Sogdianus,) Artaxerxes Mnemon, the son of Darius Nothus. But the fact last mentioned, that Ezra and Nehemiah were contemporaries, and both lived in the reign of an Artaxerxes, the one in his sixth and seventh, the other in his twentieth and thirty-second, is demonstrative proof that they both lived in the reign of the same Artaxerxes; and therefore both under Artaxerxes Longimanus, or both under Artaxerxes Mnemon; the only two kings of Persia called by that name between Xerxes and Artaxerxes Ochus, or Darius Codomannus; each of whom too reigned forty years, and upwards. And this being the case, if Nehemiah was contemporary with the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, so was Ezra; and that Nehemiah was so—such reasons were assigned, *Dissertation* xvi. vol. ii. 102—107, as appear to me competent to prove it; to which I refer the reader.

The Artaxerxes of Ezra was consequently Artaxerxes Longimanus, if he flourished himself in the seventh of the same Artaxerxes, of whom Nehemiah flourished in the twentieth. Add to this, that Ezra vi. 14. couples Cyrus, Darius, and some Artaxerxes, together, as all concurring more or less in a common purpose, which concerned the rebuilding of the temple; and that he means by this Artaxerxes the Artaxerxes of his own time, may be fairly collected both from the reason of the thing, and from the testimony of vii. 1. 7, 8. 11. 13—23. ix. 9. This is incredible of Artaxerxes Mnemon, but not so of Artaxerxes Longimanus. In the same text he speaks of the *same* elders as building and finishing the temple, through the reigns of *all* these kings—which was a possible circumstance, between B. C. 536, the first of Cyrus, and B. C. 458, the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus, (a period of seventy-eight years in all,) and certainly between B. C. 521, the second of Darius, and the same date, (an interval of sixty-three years,) but we may venture to say, impossible between either of these dates and the seventh of Artaxerxes Mnemon, B. C. 399; 137 years in the one case, and 122 in the other. Add to which, that it is incredible either that the temple should have continued more or less unfinished—or Jerusalem more or less unbuilt—or the constitution of things both in church and state, more or less unsettled—to so late a period in Jewish history, after the return from captivity under Cyrus, as the seventh of Artaxerxes Mnemon, B. C. 399. Add, too, that every king's reign in succession, between Cyrus and Darius, being mentioned in its turn previously, even that of the usurper

years respectively, cannot all be assumed as the ἀρχὴ or point of departure to one and the same series and succession of events: it is evident also that great will be the difference, both as to the beginning and as to the termination of that succession, as we fix upon one in preference to another. It is to be presumed, however, that some one of them must be the true date always intended by the prophecy, though each of them cannot be; or else we must fall into the absurdity of supposing that nothing still future, however well qualified to answer the description of the going forth of a word, to cause to return, or to build, was contemplated by the prophecy beforehand, or nothing which history, either sacred or profane, has given us the means of determining. Let us, therefore, consider each of these de-

Smerdis, who reigned little more than six months; it is very improbable that not one of the kings should be mentioned subsequently, who came between Darius and Artaxerxes Mnemon, before Artaxerxes Mnemon himself; which yet must be the case if the Artaxerxes of Ezra was Artaxerxes Mnemon: for it is very improbable that the reigns of six kings, through the intermediate period from B. C. 486, the last of Darius, to B. C. 399, the seventh of Artaxerxes Mnemon—Xerxes, Artabanus, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes ii. Sogdianus, and Darius Nothus—one of whom reigned twenty years, another forty, and a third nineteen years at least—should have brought forth nothing so intimately connected with Jewish affairs, as of necessity to occasion their being mentioned. Add, too, that the Book of Ezra

both stands at present, and always has stood in the order of collocation, before the Book of Nehemiah: and not one of the historical books of the Old Testament can be proved to stand out of its place, in the order of time, relatively to the rest. The Book of Ezra, then, was always understood to belong to an earlier period in Jewish history than the Book of Nehemiah; so that if the Book of Nehemiah belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that of Ezra could never belong to the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon. This being the case—the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus is fixed to the spring or summer quarter of B. C. 464: See Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 16, 17: and the seventh of his reign bears date from the same time B. C. 458.

crees and their dates, in its turn ; beginning with the last in order, the decree supposed to have been given in favour of Nehemiah, B. C. 444.

Though the date of the mission of Nehemiah has been repeatedly assumed as the point of departure to the prophecy of the Seventy weeks ; it cannot be denied that there is, and must always be, the greatest apparent improbability, *a priori*, that the date of an event, which cannot be placed either earlier or later than B. C. 444, should ever turn out to be the true point of commencement to a series of seventy weeks of years, extending over an interval of 490 years at least ; if the whole was destined to come to a close, in any sense, about the period of the Gospel era. Very great ingenuity, and more of accommodation and contrivance than can possibly be consistent with the plain construction of language, and the straightforward reckoning of time, it is evident, must be necessary to bring 490 years within the compass of 444, or within any reasonable distance of such limits. And this single consideration must always be, *prima facie*, a strong ground of presumption beforehand, that no scheme of interpretation can possibly be found to answer the conditions of the prophecy, in an unstrained and natural manner, which bears date from the mission of Nehemiah, B. C. 444.

The truth is, if we have rightly collected from the internal evidence of the prophecy itself, that one of the first and most cardinal of these conditions is, its bearing date from the going forth of some word or commandment, that is, the date of some public act, the promulgation of some edict or decree, of one of the reigning princes of the time ; it may justly be matter of surprise, that commentators on the prophecy have

referred so generally to the decree of Artaxerxes in favour of Nehemiah, as if the existence of such a decree, whatever we might think of its claims to be considered the date of the prophecy, were an acknowledged fact, which no one could think of disputing: whereas, if any such decree was ever given, it is certainly nowhere on record—and without proof of its existence on record somewhere, it must always be a gratuitous assumption, that it was ever actually given.

All that is actually on record in the Book of Nehemiah, with respect to his own mission, amounts to this: That having, humanly speaking, by accident—that is, through the report of his kinsman Hanani, and certain others of the men of Judah—heard at Shushan, or Susa, in the month Chisleu, in the twentieth of Artaxerxes, an account of the state of things in Judæa at the time—that the remnant that were left of the captivity there in the province were in great affliction and reproach: that the wall of Jerusalem also was broken down, and the gates thereof were burned with fire—he was much moved and distressed by this report: so much so that four months after this, in the month Nisan, in the same twentieth of Artaxerxes, when it was his duty to attend upon the king in his capacity of cup-bearer—the king was struck by his appearance, which was that of a person labouring under much sorrow and depression of spirits, who beforetime had not been sad in his presence. It appears from the account that one person only was present besides at the time, viz. the queen, who was sitting by the king. We need not enlarge upon the particulars of the conversation between the king and Nehemiah, which ensued. Let the result be summed up in the words of Nehemiah: And the king said unto me, (the queen also sitting by him,) For how long shall thy journey be? and

when wilt thou return? So it pleased the king to send me; and I set him a time ^m.

Now what is there in all this account, so far as it has yet proceeded, to justify us in considering it any thing but the history of a strictly private transaction? public only in the final end proposed by it, and in the consequences which were designed to arise out of it. What is there, which by any possibility of construction can be reasonably supposed to answer the description of that going forth of the word or commandment, which we have concluded to constitute the true date of the prophecy? Is the petition of a single individual, made and preferred in the presence of only two more, to be construed into a public and formal act? Is a commission, which for aught that appears to the contrary was confined to the bosom of Nehemiah himself, until he came to Jerusalem, to be confounded with a royal edict and proclamation, made known and promulgated in all parts of an extensive empire? or is the concession of special leave to a single Jew, to go from the court of Persia to Jerusalem on a certain errand, and for a limited time, whatever might be its object, to be considered the same thing with the going forth of an edict, from the reigning king of Persia, empowering the whole nation of the Jews, or as many as pleased, to return from all parts of the empire, and to resume possession of their own country, and their own place among nations as before?

It may possibly, however, be objected, that Nehemiah proceeds to tell us, in the sequel of his accountⁿ, that he asked letters of the king, which letters were given him; and that these letters contained the decree in question. It is to be observed, however, that whatsoever these letters might contain, they were neither

^m Nehemiah ii. 6. Cf. i. 1—4. ii. 1—6. ⁿ ii. 7, 8.

asked for nor given, until leave had been obtained by Nehemiah to go upon his mission; which leave was conceded to him in answer to his simple request, with no mention of any decree preliminary or auxiliary to it, and with no condition stipulated for beforehand, except that he should go and return within a certain time. And with respect to the contents of these letters, which are nowhere specified except in general terms, it appears that the letters themselves were of two descriptions, and addressed to two distinct kinds of persons; and though both of them might be connected with the purpose of Nehemiah's mission, they have neither of them the nature of a public act or decree, properly so called. The object of the first was to procure Nehemiah a safe conduct, as far as Judæa; which was a very necessary precaution, considering the length of the journey, and his travelling in his individual capacity. They were consequently addressed to the governors beyond the river, that is, of the provinces through which he should have to pass, beyond the precincts of Susiana*

* Beyond the river—which admits of being understood of beyond the Tigris, as much as beyond the Euphrates; and in the present instance is more necessary to be understood of the two: for one, setting out from Susa to go to Jerusalem, would have to cross both the Tigris and the Euphrates; but as the province of Susiana itself was bounded, or nearly so, by the Tigris, not by the Euphrates, he would have to cross the Tigris first. We may presume, then, that the Tigris is the river first and properly meant in this instance. We may presume, also, that in the province of Susiana Nehemiah would want no let-

ters to any governor as such; for we can hardly suppose that Susiana, containing the capital of the empire, and the seat of the residence of the kings of Persia themselves, would be subject to a satrap or viceroy—like one of the provinces more remote—and not to the king directly. The first letters, then, which Nehemiah would require to the satraps or governors, properly so called, who might be of service to him in his journey to Judæa, or through whose provinces he would have to pass—would be strictly to the governors beyond the Tigris first, and to those beyond the Euphrates last.

—in order, to use his own words^a, that they should convey him over until he came into Judah. The object of the second was to enable him to procure the means of obtaining timber, at the king's expense, in order, as he also expresses it^b, to make beams for the gates of the palace, which *appertained* to the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house that he should enter into: and these were directed accordingly to Asaph the keeper of the king's forest. Beyond these purposes, both of them connected, it is true, with the final end of his mission, and both of them addressed to persons whose assistance would be necessary to carry it into effect; but neither of them coming up to the notion of a royal edict or proclamation, much less of an edict or proclamation addressed to a nation—it does not appear that these letters had any object in view. Let us, therefore, proceed to consider the decree of Darius, the date of which was B. C. 520 or 521.

We will not repeat the objection which was lately made to the date of the mission of Nehemiah, though it is equally applicable to that of the decree of Darius, considered as the true point of departure to an interval of seventy prophetic weeks, or upwards, which must terminate at, if not later than, the Gospel era itself. The decree of Darius may not at first sight appear so liable to the further objection, that it does not answer the idea of the going forth of the word in the prophecy, by not coming up to the idea of a public or formal act: for it was certainly an edict of the reigning king, and published in the shape of a decree. Yet whether it corresponds altogether to the description of a public act, properly so called, especially that kind of act which is implied in the going forth alluded to in the prophecy, may very well admit of a question. It

was issued, it appears, in reply to an application to the king from certain individuals, described as Tatnai, governor on this side the river, and Shethar-boznai, and his companions the Apharsachites, which *were* on that side the river; and it was directed to these persons in reply^q. This application too seems to have been produced not by any wish on the part of those who made it, vexatiously and wantonly to impede the work on which the Jews were engaged, but simply by the fact of the resumption of that work, which was the building of the temple, after a cessation of seven years more or less; and a doubt on the part of the authorities beyond the river, whether the renewal and continuance of an undertaking so long suspended, and for which the Jews had to plead only a permission said to have been given them by Cyrus fifteen years before, would be agreeable to the will of the king then reigning, whose pleasure, at least, upon that subject, had never yet been consulted^r. The decree of Darius was issued to set them right, and to intimate what he wished to be done^s. Its just description therefore is that of a rescript of the emperor for the time being, founded upon the case; or a special answer to a special inquiry, to know the royal will and pleasure in a case of difficulty and doubt: but not that of an edict or decree, in devising or promulgating which the king acted mainly of his own accord: and as such it would no more deserve the name of that going forth of the word, which is implied in the prophecy, than one of the rescripts of Trajan to the letters of Pliny, would do so to the title of an imperial edict or constitution.

Independent, however, of this objection, independent also of the chronological objection before adverted to—

^q Ezra v. 3—6. vi. 6. 13.
11, 12, 13.

^r See Ezra v. 7—17.

^s See vi. 6, 7, 8.

still we may contend that, as the decree of Darius was merely the reinforcement of the decree of Cyrus, and even a repetition of it in terms^t, and confined precisely to the same objects with that; the decree of Darius could never be first and properly intended by the prophecy, unless we should suppose it capable of the singular anomaly, or ὕστερον πρότερον, of leaving entirely out of the scope of its comprehension the original enactment of a certain public measure, and confining its attention solely to the reinforcement or repetition of it. For the purpose of the prophecy, the decree of Darius must be considered as virtually anticipated in the decree of Cyrus. The decree of Cyrus was the principal, the decree of Darius the subordinate, event of that description, which it can be supposed to have in view. Let us, therefore, proceed to consider the decree of Cyrus, the date of which we have assumed to be B. C. 536.

The decree of Cyrus is liable to no such objection, as that it was not strictly and properly a public act. We may admit to the fullest extent, that it was a royal edict and proclamation, emanating, for aught which appears to the contrary, from the freewill and pleasure of the reigning prince, and promulgated in all parts of his dominions, or wheresoever the parties concerned in the purposes contemplated by it were to be found. We may concede, therefore, that the promulgation of such a decree would strictly answer to the idea of that going forth of some word or commandment, specified at the outset of the prophecy; and considered as a going forth, however public, and as a word or commandment, however authoritative—but as nothing more.

If so, what remains, it may be asked, but that we fix upon the edict of Cyrus, as the point of departure

^t Ezra vi. 3—5.

intended by the prophecy? First and properly, we may reply, because the merely going forth of a word or commandment, that is, the mere issuing of a royal proclamation, does not all at once identify it with the going forth of the word in the prophecy; nor unless the royal proclamation is issued, and the word goes forth in the prophecy, for one and the same purpose in each case. But does not the word, it may be demanded, in the prophecy go forth, that the dispersed and captive Jews should return? And does not the proclamation of Cyrus give them permission to return? It gives them permission to return—but notwithstanding, if we are not to be wise beyond what is written, if we are not to assign ends and purposes either for the going forth of the word or for the edict of Cyrus, beyond what they have each assigned for themselves; the edict of Cyrus is not necessarily the same with the word that goes forth in the prophecy, because the one gives permission to return, as well as the other. The mere fact of the return of the dispersed and captive Jews to their own country, is not the *whole* of the object contemplated in either case. The return is supposed to have an end or an effect ulterior to itself, or distinct from itself, in either case; and this end or this effect is not the same in each. This end or this effect is specified or implied in each case to be to *rebuild*, as well as to *return*; but with respect to the subject of this rebuilding—if it will only be granted that the temple might be *one* subject of that description, and the city of Jerusalem might be *another*; then a permission to rebuild the temple will never be necessarily a permission to rebuild the city; and permission to rebuild the temple, both in the design and in the effect, might be *one* thing, and permission to rebuild the city *another*.

Now this distinction, which in the nature of things

was a possible one, is in reality matter of fact. There is no mention of the city in the edict of Cyrus, and none of the temple in the supposed going forth of the word in the prophecy. Permission to build again, so far as it is accorded by the edict of Cyrus, is permission to rebuild the temple; and permission to build again, so far as it is implied in the word that goes forth in the prophecy, is permission to rebuild the city. It seems a just inference from this distinction, that the building of the temple was the most prominent thing contemplated beforehand in the decree of Cyrus, but the building of the city the most prominent object in the word that goes forth in the prophecy. And these two things being neither the same in themselves, nor necessarily combined in the event; it is equally gratuitous, without warrant from scripture to that effect, to assume that the one was *intended* in the other, as that the one was *effected* in the other.

The greater prominency of the latter of these two effects, the building of the city in particular, at least in the eye of the prophecy, and in the final end assigned to the going forth of the word, which it had in view, appears further from that declaration of the effect to ensue, in conformity to the object supposed to be contemplated; "The street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times," or, "even in strait of times." Neither here is there any mention of the temple, notwithstanding the plain mention of the street and the wall. If this omission is not purely accidental, (which no one, surely, will maintain,) then it will follow, either that the temple was a minor object in the estimation of the prophecy compared with the street and the wall—or, if that never can be supposed, then that the building of the temple being one thing, and the restoration of the street and the wall being an-

other, the building of the temple was over, and consequently could no longer be alluded to as an event to come, at the very point of time at which the restoration of the street and the wall was still to begin.

The object of the return in the decree of Cyrus, in like manner, is so plainly set forth as the rebuilding of the temple, and so clearly restricted to that one effect; that in each of the three accounts of that decree, which are on record in scripture, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23: Ezra i. 2-4: vi. 3-5: nothing else is ever hinted at, much less expressed *in terminis*: and in every allusion to the powers or privileges, conceded by that decree, in general terms, as Ezra ii. 68: iii. 7: iv. 3: iv. 24: v. 13-17: vi. 14; they are supposed to extend to nothing but the reviving of the temple service, the rebuilding of the house of God, or the like. And though we cannot but suppose, that the re-erection of the temple upon its ancient site, or the revival of the Levitical service in its former seat, would necessarily lead to the re-occupation of the parts about the temple, the construction of houses and dwellings on a more or less general scale, in and about Jerusalem, and so far to a rebuilding of the city on its ancient foundations, which would justify the coupling of that event also with the rebuilding of the temple, in the well known prophecy of Isaiah—and both, as the effect of one and the same act or permission of Cyrus^f; yet this is no objection to the matter of fact for which we are here contending; that the one thing intended by the permission of Cyrus to the Jews to return, was the rebuilding of the temple, and the restoration of the temple service. If this led to the rebuilding of Jerusalem to any extent, which under the circumstances of the case it could not fail to do; yet *pro tanto*, and so far as the proper object contem-

^u Isaiah xlv. 28.

plated by his permission to return was concerned, the rebuilding of Jerusalem was entirely ἐκ παρόργου and κατὰ συμβεβηκός, in comparison of the rebuilding of the temple. And what was that rebuilding of Jerusalem, to which the permission of Cyrus to return and rebuild the temple seems to have led, *per accidens* as it was? The collection of a few settlers, more or less in number, on the site of what once was Jerusalem; and the construction of a few houses and dwellings for them to live in, even less numerous than the settlers. The city was not fully peopled with inhabitants, nor the defences about it effectually raised as before, until the time of Nehemiah; that is, there was neither street nor ditch, properly so called, at Jerusalem, for 92 years after this return. And what is a city, without street or wall, in comparison of its former self? or even of the essence of its being? Or how can that city be said to be yet in being, much less in the perfection of its being, which wants both these things—or possesses them only imperfectly?

In a word, it appears from the Book of Ezra, that the Jews who came back with Zerubbabel considered themselves authorized by the decree of Cyrus to rebuild the house of God at Jerusalem; but it does not appear that they considered themselves empowered by it to rebuild the city. It does not appear, at least, that their enemies thought them to be so. The fourth chapter of Ezra shews that even these adversaries either did not attempt to stop, or did not succeed in stopping the work of the rebuilding of the temple; in which even *they* could not deny that the builders had the authority of the decree of Cyrus; until they were able to accuse them of combining with the rebuilding of the temple the design of rebuilding the city, that is, “to set up the walls, and to join the foundations:”

Ezra iv. 11–16. Whether this accusation was a calumny on their part, or whether it was not, it proves alike that the only colourable pretence which they had, or were conscious of having, for denouncing the Jews to the king of Persia, was to have it in their power to lay to their charge not the *actual* rebuilding of the temple, but the *alleged* rebuilding of the city; the reason of which would appear at once, if the Jews, in attempting to rebuild their city as well as the temple, were exceeding, or might be made to appear to be exceeding, their commission from Cyrus, who had given permission for the one, but not for the other. Accordingly, neither was there any mention of the building of the temple in the accusation sent by them on this occasion to the king, but only of that of the city and its walls; neither is there any allusion to the former, in the answer of the king, forbidding the further progress of the work—but only to the latter; see iv. 21: though it is easy to see that to forbid the progress of the rebuilding of the city, under such circumstances, was virtually to forbid the continued rebuilding of the temple; and therefore, we need not be surprised that, after the receipt of this rescript of Artaxerxes, or the usurper Smerdis, the work of the temple also should have ceased, and fallen into abeyance for a time; Ezra iv. 24.

In addition to the above considerations, there are others, which may be urged to a like effect; as follows. First, it would seem to be a natural inference from the analogy of the prophecy in the rest of its predictions, that the event which it alludes to, first of all, under the name of the going forth of the word or commandment, should still be something distant, compared with the time of its own delivery, like every thing else to which it relates. But according to one

mode of reckoning the years of Cyrus*, the edict of Cyrus was either issued or on the point of being so, at

* The mode in question is that which has the sanction apparently of the canon of Ptolemy, where the first of Cyrus is made to bear date B. C. 538.

I have declared my opinion, however, with respect to this statement, (Appendix, Dissertation xii. vol. iii. 514.) that it is to be understood as merging the years of Darius at Babylon with those of Cyrus after him, though probably at Babylon also; and this explanation is strongly confirmed by the fact, that the difference between the common length assigned to the reign of Cyrus, as dated from B. C. 536, and the length assigned to it by the canon, dated from B. C. 538, amounts just to two years; and one or two years, but no more, would be the utmost length of time which there would be any reason from the testimony of the Book of Daniel to assign to the reign of Darius: for that book mentions no year of his reign but the first, though it mentions both the first and the third of Cyrus. It was very possible that Darius might reign just two years, at Babylon, but no more; being an old man at the time of his accession, or sixty-three years of age. In this case, Cyrus would actually succeed him, B. C. 536, just two years after the date in the canon, B. C. 538.

The strongest argument after all is the fact that, according to the Book of Daniel, the first of Darius at Babylon must bear date B. C. 538. This fact is established by the testimony of

the one and twenty days' interval between the first of his reign there, and the third of Belshazzar, B. C. 559; of which so much has been said, Appendix, Supplement to Dissertation xii. vol. iii. 547—584. On this principle, the first of Cyrus, at Babylon also, being made by the canon to bear date B. C. 538 likewise, the first of Darius and the first of Cyrus, both referred to their reigns at Babylon, either coincided and proceeded *pari passu* together, or the one has been merged in the other.

The canon of Ptolemy is a chronological document, which had no object in view except to deduce with historical exactness the succession of time, through the various dynasties of the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, Egyptian, and Roman kings or emperors, from the first year of the era of Nabonassar, B. C. 747, to his own time in the reign of Antoninus Pius. It would attain this object just the same, whether it specified the two years of Darius at Babylon, or not; provided it did not overlook them in the general account, but included them in some of the reigns before or after his. It is certain that it has not mentioned Darius by name; and it is certain also that it has not omitted to take into account the two years which should have been ascribed to him: and from both these facts together it becomes an highly probable conclusion that it has included them in the years which it assigns to Cyrus.

the very time of this interview of the prophet Daniel with the angel Gabriel ; and according to the common

And this is the only solution which will reconcile the testimony of the canon with that of other ancient authorities, some of them entitled to just as much deference as the canon ; particularly that of Herodotus, with reference to the date of the capture of Babylon, from which the years of the reign of Cyrus, at Babylon, according to him, are necessarily to be reckoned.

Ptolemy's reign of Cyrus is his reign at Babylon. It cannot be his reign ἀπλῶς—which a cloud of ancient authorities make a reign of 29 or 30 years, and not of nine ; and date from Ol. 55. 1. B. C. $\frac{5}{2}\frac{9}{9}$, and not from B. C. 538. Now a reign of nine years, dated from B. C. 538, would be just equivalent to a reign of seven, dated from B. C. 536, (the date which Herodotus assigns to the capture of Babylon,) both being supposed to expire B. C. 530 or B. C. 529.

The first of Cyrus at Babylon, as neither earlier nor later than B. C. 536, appears to me to be indissolubly fixed by the term of years assigned to the captivity ; which began in the third of Jehoiakim, and ended in the first of Cyrus. For if this term of years was to be seventy, and the third of Jehoiakim bore date B. C. 606, the first of Cyrus could not bear date earlier than B. C. 536. If it must bear date two years earlier, the captivity must come to a close two years earlier also ; that is, the captivity could not be a seventy

years' captivity, but only a sixty-eight years' one : which would be clearly inconsistent with what had been long before predicted of it. And it is but a sorry expedient, in order to get over this difficulty, to reckon the term of the captivity by current years, not by complete : for even seventy current years would suppose sixty-nine complete. It would be still more unjustifiable to endeavour to account for the difference, by reckoning the seventy years not as natural and common or solar years, but as lunar, or as prophetic ; of which mode of reckoning future time, we have said enough heretofore.

I should consider it far from improbable, that when Darius came to the throne of Babylon, being an old man, and the state of things, in all probability, one of danger and insecurity, he associated Cyrus in the empire with himself ; and consequently that Cyrus' reign at Babylon too, as well as Darius', might actually bear date from B. C. 538. But that, notwithstanding this, Darius for the rest of his life was not supreme, in some sense or other ; more especially that Darius for the rest of his life was merely the viceroy or deputy of Cyrus ; is a supposition so plainly contradictory to the Book of Daniel, that I am surprised it should ever have been proposed ; which yet has been the case. It was absolutely essential to the fulfilment of prophecy, (see Daniel v. 28. viii. 3. 20, more particularly,) that the Babylonian empire should pass,

mode of reckoning them, it could not be more than two years distant, at the same date: for the first of Cyrus is usually placed B. C. 536, and this prophecy, delivered as it appears from ix. 1. in the first of Darius, was delivered B. C. 538.

Secondly, natural as the presumption may appear, that the first return of the Jews, or of any portion of them, to their own country, after the date of the prophecy, would most probably be the occasion contemplated by it, it is but a prejudice, after all *; and if we

bona fide, to the Medes, if for ever so short a time, before it devolved upon the Persians; and it never did so pass, if it did not pass, though for ever so short a time, to Darius, before it was transmitted to Cyrus. It was equally necessary to the same fulfilment, that the kingdom so transmitted to Cyrus should be truly and *bona fide* the Babylonian; in other words, that Cyrus should be king of Babylon, as well as king of Persia. He is called by the first of these names accordingly, Ezra v. 13, 14. 17: as much as by the other, Ezra i. 1, 2. 8. iii. 7. iv. 3. 5. both later than the close of the captivity; that is, after B. C. 536. he is called by either indifferently. And that he was truly considered king of Babylon, even by profane history, appears from the canon itself, which gives him a place next in succession to the last of the kings of the purely Babylonian dynasty; and assigns him a reign which cannot possibly be mistaken for his reign in Persia, and therefore must be understood of his reign in Babylon.

* And this prejudice, too, we may observe, in the minds of

English readers at least, is very probably due to their familiarity with the terms of the English version. This version speaks of THE going forth, and of THE commandment, as if the going forth and the commandment intended, were something of either description κατ' ἐξοχὴν and preeminently deserving of the name; but the prophecy itself speaks only of a going forth and of a commandment—a mode of describing the thing foretold which could not be justly understood, at least *prima facie*, to apply to one event of that description, or to one commandment, more than to another.

In construing the terms of the prophecy throughout, it was very natural for our translators, perhaps imperceptibly to themselves, to be influenced by their knowledge, or their supposed knowledge, of the event—and therefore to understand many things with a special and definite reference, which the prophecy itself had left general and indeterminate. Among this number is the allusion to the going forth of the word or commandment, the first thing specified of all. The version of Theo-

will divest our minds of prepossession in favour of the return under Cyrus, more than of any other, and attend only to the circumstances of the return itself, we shall see little reason to conclude that this could be the return intended by the description of it beforehand in the prophecy of the Seventy weeks. From this description, it might be expected, that when the word or commandment to return and to build, had once gone forth, it should speed and prosper—it should meet with no let nor impediment, at least of a serious or a permanent kind, in accomplishing its destined effect: much less be retracted, revoked, or cancelled. The veracity of the prophecy stood pledged to thus much: that when the word to build again had once been issued, *it should be built*; the street and the wall should be built again even in troublous times; where,

dotion will shew that the absence of the article in this instance, before each of the words in the Hebrew, was a circumstance of peculiarity in the original, which was by all means to be attended to, and faithfully to be preserved, in the translation. The Hebrew is, מן מצא דבר, the version of Theodotion, ἄπὸ ἐξόδου λόγου—either of which in English would be, From going forth of a word; not, From the going forth of the word. To supply the definite article, in each of these instances, is gratuitously to make that definite which the prophecy purposely left indefinite: and it is also to endanger the inference, that if it means *one* going forth and *one* word in particular, it means *the* going forth and *the* word under Cyrus more especially. Now this is to prejudge the question what decree was really intended

by it, before we have begun to inquire into it; and to commit the prophecy *in limine* to a construction against which it seems to have studiously guarded beforehand: for surely it would have been as easy to express itself by מן המצא דבר, or at least by מן מצא דבר, as by מן מצא דבר—if there had not been a good reason of some kind or another, why the latter of these modes of specifying the thing intended, should be preferred to the former. And this reason might be, that the last of these modes of describing it was competent to apply to any event of the nature in question, that might otherwise suit the conditions of the prophecy; but the former, first and properly at least, could have applied to nothing of that kind, but what happened in the reign of Cyrus.

might we adopt the marginal version, even in strait of times, and by *strait*, be at liberty to understand, as I think we might, a narrowed or contracted, that is, a short and limited period of time, something less than would naturally have been required and might naturally have been expected for such a work—the anomaly will become the more striking; for between the first going forth of the edict of Cyrus, B. C. 536, and the actual completion of the work of rebuilding by Nehemiah, B. C. 444, the interval was ninety-two years; which no one can consider a contracted period of time, or an interval disproportionately short in comparison of the effect assigned to it. But I prefer to rest the stress of my objection at present, upon the simple fact, that the going forth of a decree, which was but partially executed in the reign of Cyrus—which was *suspended* in the reign of Cambyses—which was *revoked* in the reign of Smerdis^a, and required to be *reenacted* in the reign of Darius^b, before it could attain to its destined effect—never could be that going forth of a word, to cause to return and to build, which was predicted by the prophecy, and which was assuredly to be followed by the event.

Thirdly, among the other conclusions which the perusal of the prophecy very naturally suggests beforehand, one is this: that both the people and the holy city of Daniel are supposed to be in existence, before the point of time, at which its own disclosures take their rise, was even arrived or begun. “Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city* :” where, as the stress of the argument

* Literally, Upon people of thee, and upon city of holiness of thee: and this distinction is

not unimportant, with respect to the argument for which we are contending in the text: for the

^a See Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7—22.

^b Ezra iv. 24—vi. 15.

turns on the meaning of the preposition which follows the verb *determined* in the original; I will just observe, that its proper sense is analogous to that of *upon* in English, *ἐπὶ* in Greek, and *super* in Latin; by the first of which we have it represented in our English Bible, by the second in the Septuagint, Theodotion, and Aquila; and by the third in the Latin Vulgate. Symmachus alone appears to have rendered it by *κατὰ* with the genitive case; a version which is neither so faithful to the Hebrew, nor, as I apprehend, to the sense of the prophecy: for *κατὰ* with the genitive, in Greek, is properly *against*; and the notion of *against*, in this instance, suits neither the word nor the thing intended.

Now this mode of speaking, viz. that of such and such a number of weeks' being determined, that is, ordained or appointed, *ἐπὶ*, or *super*, or *upon*, (in one word *בְּ*;) the people and the city of Daniel, does appear to me to imply that such and such a term of years was ordained or appointed for their *continued existence*, *from* such and such a time, *until* such and such purposes were accomplished. Nor would this of necessity imply that they were not still to have an existence, even *after* those purposes had been accomplished: only, that being in existence *when* they began to be accomplished, they should continue to be in existence

natural inference from this mode of describing the subject of the determination in question would be—that it was not to be restricted to the city of Jerusalem, and to the people of that city, only—but must take in the Jews every where—supposed to be living in their proper country—as people of Daniel alike—and must extend to every city in the Holy Land, as city of ho-

liness of Daniel, indiscriminately. In the version of these words, respectively, we desiderate the usual accuracy of the Greek interpreters; except perhaps Aquila; as each of them has supplied the article before *λαόν*, though it is wanting in the Hebrew, and Aquila alone has omitted it before *πόλιν*, in strict conformity to the original.

until they were accomplished, whether they continued in existence afterwards, or not. Now this surely takes it for granted, that at the point of time, which the prophecy assumes as its own ἀρχή, the people of Daniel and the holy city of Daniel were something in *rerum natura*; something which even then had an existence in its proper capacity accordingly. In this case, the point of time which it contemplated as its own point of departure, could never be the date of the edict of Cyrus: for before the promulgation of the edict of Cyrus, and before the return from captivity consequent upon it, there was no such thing as the people of Daniel, and much less as the holy city of Daniel, properly so called. For let no one imagine, that the people of Daniel had still a proper, continued, national existence, in that state of captivity and dispersion, in which they had lived seventy years before their return. As individuals they might still exist even in that state: but as a nation they had no proper existence after B. C. 606, or B. C. 588, on the one hand, until they were again united and collected under the same circumstances as before, in a country of their own, forming one of the integral divisions of mankind, and occupying one of the integral portions of the earth, among themselves and by themselves as before; that is, until B. C. 536, on the other. Still less let any one suppose that the holy city of Daniel, if that means Jerusalem in particular, had any proper existence, in the state of entire destitution and desolation—without walls, without houses, without inhabitants—in which it was left by the last captivity, B. C. 588: nor until the temple had begun to be rebuilt there, and the temple service to be restored, at least; and something like a community of settlers to be contracted and formed around the same spot, in consequence of that event.

Fourthly and lastly, the date of the edict of Cyrus, B. C. 536, must be an insuperable objection to the supposition of that edict's being intended by the prophecy as the point of departure to a series of 490 years, or at the utmost of 493 and one half, which, whensoever they may begin, pass up to the gospel era at least, or beyond it. For let us make the most favourable supposition that we can; that the series of weeks terminates absolutely with the birth of Christ; and that the birth of Christ is rightly placed even at the vulgar era, A. D. 1: yet if the weeks be only seventy, or seventy and one half; if they are only continuous; if they are weeks of years; and if those years are only common or natural ones; clear it is to a demonstration, that the same point of time can never be a common point of departure to a series of five hundred and thirty-six years before A. D. 1, and a series of four hundred and ninety-three, or at the utmost four hundred and ninety-four, which must terminate at the same time.

The decree of Cyrus, the decree of Darius, and the supposed decree of Artaxerxes, in favour of Nehemiah, having been thus set aside from the scope of the prophecy, the only one left to which we can look for the true point of departure contemplated by it, if it is any where recorded in Scripture, would seem to be that which is related, *Ezra vii. 11—26*. Let us, therefore, proceed to consider how far this is qualified to answer the conditions of the word, supposed to go forth in the prophecy.

It is unnecessary to observe of this decree, in the first place, that it was a public act, an edict or proclamation, emanating from the supreme authority in the kingdom. The style of an imperial edict is preserved throughout it (see verses 12, 13, and 21,) as much as

in those which are recorded Daniel iii. 29: iv. 1: vi. 26, and especially, Ezra vi. 8, 11, 12, upon occasions of a similar kind. It appears too to have proceeded from the freewill or spontaneous impulse of the reigning king; for there is nothing in the account given of it, and of the circumstances connected with it, to lead to the inference that it was due to the solicitations of Ezra, in particular, except vii. 6: which, nevertheless, obviously admits of explanation, without prejudice to the supposition that the king was a voluntary agent in the first conception of the design of his mission, and in directing his letters to Ezra, or issuing his decree accordingly; while, on the other hand, that this mission was his own act, or solely resolvable into some influence upon his will, derived from above, appears to be strongly implied both by the internal evidence of the decree itself, especially, vii. 14 and 23, and by the language employed in allusion to it, vii. 27, and ix. 9. That it must have been made public in all parts of his dominions, or at least wheresoever Jews were to be found, which would be almost the same thing, appears from the fact, that it gave permission to all of the people of Israel, and of the priests and Levites, in the realm of the king, which were minded of their own freewill to go up to Jerusalem, to go with Ezra^c: and no more than this can be said of the decree of Cyrus, which merely does the same thing^d.

That it had for its object a return, or a causing to return, is clear both from the event—that it led to the return of a large body of Jews on this occasion, along with Ezra, who had never gone back before—and from its own language, vii. 13, already recited—and that this is to be looked upon as a return from captivity, as much as the return in the first instance of

^c vii. 13.^d i. 2, 3.

all, B. C. 536, may fairly be collected from Ezra ix. 9, in reference to it. And even were we to adopt the sense which those ancient versions have given to the Hebrew of *to return*, which have rendered it by, τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι, that also might appear consistent with the object of the mission, such as it is specified at verse 14: “Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his seven counsellors, to ENQUIRE concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which *is* in thine hand:” unless it should be supposed that *inquiry* previously made must lead to no *report*, that is, to no *answer*, afterwards.

Moreover, the temple itself having been long since more or less completed, and the temple service long since restored, before the time of this mission; and both being recognised as something in existence in this very decree itself; the object of the mission could not possibly have been represented to be the building of the temple, like that of the mission of Zerubbabel; but it might be, to build Jerusalem: nor is there any thing in the decree which militates against the presumption that this might be the thing, or one of the things, intended by it. For though to return and to build Jerusalem is not specified in so many words, in the decree, as it is in the prophecy; yet to return or to go up, and to return or go up to Jerusalem, is specified there, at verse 13: so that unless Jerusalem was already fully repeopled or fully rebuilt, one object of this going up, or one consequence of it at least, must have been more completely to effect both; see ix. 9.

It has been seen, however, that the true state of the case, so far as concerned both the nation of the Jews and the city of Jerusalem, presupposed by the prophecy, preliminary to its own course and succession of time, was this; that the one had already an existence

as a nation, and the other as a city, in some proper sense or other, before the decursus of the weeks was even ready to commence. An imperfect being or existence, it is possible, in either case; but still a being of some kind or other: so that a building of Jerusalem, *de novo*, never could be intended by the building of the street and the wall, in the prophecy, though the completion of a building, more or less partially begun already, might be; no more than a return for the first time to the state and condition of a nation, by the return there specified also, though an enlargement of that return, and a more complete acquisition of the character of a nation, in consequence of it, might be intended by it. We need not therefore be surprised that to rebuild Jerusalem, properly so termed, is not specified as the object of Ezra's mission. The building, more particularly intended by the prophecy, to judge from verse 25 in the sequel, is the renewal of the street and the wall; both which might stand in need of completion at the time of his mission, as in fact we know they did, and might be more or less concerned in the event of his coming.

Upon grounds of general analogy, and general fitness and propriety, however, we might contend, that without meaning any disparagement to the decree of Cyrus, or to that of Darius, and allowing them full credit for the pious and becoming sentiments which both of them express; still the most remarkable example of this description, recorded in Scripture—the most illustrious, as the act and deed of a Gentile prince, we may observe, is the decree of Artaxerxes, issued on this occasion, in behalf of Ezra. It is scarcely possible to read this decree without being struck with the impression that it is the decree not of Artaxerxes, but of one greater than Artaxerxes; in giving utterance and publicity to whose

will, Artaxerxes was but an instrument. There is nowhere in Scripture a decree, promulgated by an earthly monarch, which was more evidently dictated by a serious and solemn sense of that relation in which even the proudest and highest of earthly kings stand to the majesty of the King of kings—as merely his vicegerents and instruments, to do his will—to do whatsoever they know and feel to be commanded by the God of heaven. There is nowhere, even in Scripture, a document more worthy to be written in the hearts of kings, and stamped upon their foreheads, and graven if possible on the palms of their hands, as a constant memorial of their vicarious relation to the universal king, and their consequent proper duty and obligation. We may rest assured, therefore, that in fixing upon this decree as that word, the going forth of which was so long before predicted by prophecy, we are fixing upon nothing which was not eminently worthy to be the subject of that distinction—the true antitype of the word or command, which was already recorded in the counsels of the Most High; and only waited its time to come forth.

The mission of Ezra is the date of what may be called the political resurrection of the Jews. The date of his arrival in Judæa is the epoch of their regeneration both in church and state. It would be much too narrow a view of the purposes of his mission, to suppose it restricted to one object, though concerning the temple, or to one object, though relating to Jerusalem: when it had for its scope and design the complete resettlement of the affairs of the nation, civil and religious, in all respects. By virtue of the decree accompanying it, the law of his God, that is, the law of Moses, the proper law of the Jews, became of equal authority, in a civil point of view, with the law of the king—that is, the common law of

the Persian empire^e. Ample power was conceded to Ezra to appoint magistrates and judges among all the people, with power and jurisdiction extending to death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment^f, as the case might require. What was this, but to grant the Jews an *αὐτονομία*, subject only to their own laws, and their own magistrates to execute them? The magistrates and judges appointed by Ezra were not only to know the laws of his God themselves, but to teach them those that knew them not^g; and so to provide for a constant succession of persons, equally well qualified with themselves, to fulfil the same office, and to discharge the same duties. And all this was intrusted to Ezra in particular, as a priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven^h; as a ready scribe in the law of Mosesⁱ; as one who had prepared his heart to seek the law of the LORD, and to do *it*, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments^k: which he was to execute according to the law of his God which *was* in his hand^l; after the will of his God^m; after the wisdom of his God, which *was* in his handⁿ.

It seems only a necessary inference from this representation, that the date of the mission of Ezra, if it was followed by such effects as these, must be the true date of that political ἀποκατάστασις among the Jews, that bringing back of all things as nearly as possible to the state they were in, if not in the best and purest times of their history, when the law of Moses was most firmly established and most duly enforced, yet at least to the state they were in, before the Babylonish captivity, and the dissolution of their proper constitution both in church and state, consequent upon it; without which, the effect of that captivity and of that

^e vii. 26.^k Ibid. 10.^f Ibid.^l Ibid. 14.^g Ibid. 25.^m Ibid. 18.^h Ibid. 12. 21.ⁿ Ibid. 25.ⁱ Ibid. 6.

dissolution never could be said to have been completely repaired and undone. This conclusion is confirmed by the unanimous concurrence of the Jews of later ages themselves, who look upon Ezra as their second founder both in church and state, and venerate his memory with the same respect as they do that of Moses. To Ezra it is their belief that they owed the canon of scripture, such as it survived the captivity and was transmitted to their own times. To Ezra, consequently, the whole Christian world is indebted for the scriptures of the Old Testament in their present state. On Ezra it was the persuasion of the Jews that the mantle of the last of the prophets rested; and with Ezra, in the person of Malachi, that the canon of prophetic inspiration closed. To Ezra, at least, it is certain that the Jews were indebted for the only account of the return of their ancestors from captivity, which was any where extant in their own scriptures; for the reader need not be told that there is no history even of the return of the Jews under Zerubbabel, but what is contained in the Book of Ezra: and this too is one of the circumstances of distinction which ought to be allowed its weight in coming to a conclusion upon the question of the comparative importance, whether in the counsels of Providence, or in the religious and the civil history of the Jews, of the mission of Ezra and that of Zerubbabel respectively.

Add to this, that as there is no evidence of the return of any fresh body of the Jews after this mission of Ezra—of nothing in short but the return of individuals, even if of that—and consequently that if the proper effect of the captivity was ever properly undone, it was so by the return which accompanied this mission; so this mission, and the return which accompanied it, stand at a determinate distance of time from

the first return after the captivity, and the first interposition of any delay to the completion of its proper effect—which is far from being insignificant or unimportant. This return took place in the first of Cyrus, B.C. 536, exactly seventy years from B.C. 606, the date of the first captivity in the third of Jehoiakim. We cannot, perhaps, suppose, that the proper effect of the return, or the proper execution of the edict of Cyrus, was ever suspended or superseded in the reign of Cyrus; though it may fairly be collected from Ezra iv. 5. that it was even then opposed and obstructed more or less. Ezra iv. 6. authorizes the same inference of the reign of Ahasuerus; who, if he was the next to Cyrus, and distinct from Artaxerxes, mentioned in the following verse—and this Artaxerxes was the immediate predecessor of Darius, as he appears to have been—must be the same with Cambyzes, the successor of Cyrus, and the predecessor of Smerdis the Magian, who was succeeded by Darius Hystaspis. The first actual impediment to the continued operation of the edict of Cyrus, may be supposed to have taken place in the reign of Cambyzes; and if so, it must be concluded from Ezra iv. 6. that it took place at the beginning of his reign. The precise beginning of the reign of Cambyzes is not earlier than B.C. 530, nor later than B.C. 529: and referred to either, B.C. 528 would be truly and properly in the *beginning* of his reign. Let it be assumed, then, that the first accusations against the Jews, which so far took effect as actually to impede the continued operation of the edict of Cyrus, took effect at the beginning of the reign of Cambyzes, B.C. 528. Reckon forward another seventy years from this date, and you come to B.C. 458—the year of this mission of Ezra, and the year of the last and most final of that series of providential dispensa-

tions in behalf of the Jews, which led to the return of the captive Jews, and undid the effect of the captivity—if it ever was undone, after it had once taken place. That is, as there had been one seventy years' interval between the beginning of the captivity and the first return from it; so was there another seventy years' interval between the first interposition of any actual impediment to the effect of that return, and the final undoing of the effect of the captivity, if it ever was completely undone, by the return under Ezra.

When we consider the shortness of the interval between the mission of Ezra, B. C. 458, and that of Nehemiah, B. C. 444; that Ezra and Nehemiah followed from the court of the same king—within fourteen years only of each other; that they were consequently strictly contemporaries, and both in Judæa at once^s: we can scarcely fail to conclude that the mission of Nehemiah might always be intended to be auxiliary to that of Ezra, especially in the purposes of Providence. An interval of fourteen years merely is almost too little to be taken into account in the scope and comprehension of a prophecy like this; so strictly at least, as not to allow us to infer that the object assigned to the return, the building of Jerusalem, and the effect predicted to ensue upon it, the building again of the street and the wall—might not both have been contemplated in that going forth of the word, which coincided with the mission of Ezra, though both might ultimately be carried into final effect by the ministry of Nehemiah.

The order of the terms of the prediction, in this instance, is something remarkable. The street, it is said, shall be built again, and the ditch or wall—that is, the street first, and the wall next: which was actu-

^s Cf. Nehemiah viii. 1—13—xii. 26. 36.

ally the order of the event; the street of Jerusalem having been the first thing completed, and the wall the last. Nor is there any reason why that special circumstance of distinction, mentioned in conjunction with these events, Even in troublous times, or, Even in strait of times, should not be restricted to the last of them in particular, the building again of the wall; and not taken in common with both. In this case, adopting the marginal version, Even in strait of times, or as it might more closely be rendered, Even in strait of the times; which a comparison of the Vulgate and the Hebrew will shew to admit of the possible meaning of a disproportionate or inadequate space of time—a space of time not what would naturally have been required, and might naturally have been expected for such an effect—it will express, as it appears to me, the most remarkable and characteristic circumstance in the history of the mission of Nehemiah, that by incredible exertions of speed, the entire wall of the city was raised and finished in fifty-two days' time, from the commencement of the work; not much more than three days after his arrival in Jerusalem ^p *. Not but that

* The words of the original in this instance are וּבִצּוֹק הָעֵתִים : of which the first is a word, which as a noun substantive occurs only in this passage of Daniel. The version of Theodotion does not assist us here in coming at its meaning; for, occurring as we have observed only once, and that in this present instance, Theodotion renders it by ἐκκενωθήσονται—probably because he understood it as one of the tenses of בִּצָּק *intumuit*. The

Septuagint, however, may give us a possible insight into its meaning, having rendered the passage by κατὰ συντέλειαν καιρῶν : and thereby implied that the notion of completion, consummation, or, it may be, of dispatch, entered into it.

The word is derived in the Lexicons from בָּצַק *fudit* : which in one of its conjugations (Hiphil) assumes the sense of *coarctavit*, *constrinxit*, or the like; and in the past conjugation an-

^p Nehemiah vi. 15. ii. 11—iii. 1—iv. 23. v. 16. vi. 1. Cf. Dissertation xviii. vol. ii. 139, 140.

the sense of Even in troublous times, would accord to the context of the prophecy in this instance, as well as be verified by the event, when we consider the difficulties which Nehemiah had to contend with, and the many alarms to which he was daily and hourly exposed; difficulties and alarms which were the prin-

swering thereto, (Hophal,) that of *coarctari*, *angustiari*, or the like. Hence the substantive, צָר *angustia*: the proper sense of which would seem to be, narrowness, want of room, pressure in that respect; insomuch as the word most properly opposed to it is one which expresses the contrary, רָחֵב, *latitudo*, breadth, amplitude of room or space: and there is no doubt, I think, that as such a word, and in such a sense, would be properly rendered in Greek by στενοχωρία, and in Latin by *angustia*, so in English it may be expressed by a *strait*, or a *press*, of any thing—and of time, among the rest. I am *pressed* for time, I am *straitened* for time—these are common expressions in our language for a want or a lack of time: and what other idea would be conveyed by an Hebrew word answering to *angustia* or *coarctatio*, στενοχωρία or θλίψις, in the same respect?

As to the other word, דַּעְתִּים—it is agreed upon all hands that its proper use in Hebrew is to answer to *καρὸς* in Greek, or *occasio* in Latin: and we perceive that both the Septuagint and Theodotion have rendered it by *καρὸς* accordingly: the latter having been careful also to preserve the article before it, which should by all means have been done by our English version

likewise. Now we have no word in our language, at least in common use, (unless perhaps it be season or opportunity,) which would express at once the same distinction between time in general, and time with a particular reference to junctures and circumstances, as *καρὸς* in Greek, opposed to *χρόνος*, *occasio* in Latin, opposed to *tempus*, or עָרָא in Hebrew, opposed to יוֹם or *dies*. But we may paraphrase it, in a given instance, by time befitting, or time convenient to the purpose in question. And such being the sense intended in the present instance, the passage will stand word for word—There shall return and shall be built street and wall, and in strait of the times convenient: that is, the street and the wall should be built again, but built again under extraordinary circumstances, viz. in a strait of דַּעְתִּים—the times that would otherwise be required for the task, and otherwise applied to its accomplishment; the *tempora opportuna*, the times befitting or suitable—in one word, Its *own* times, in respect of the work to be effected in them: for that is the proper sense of the Hebrew—the *tempus proprium cujusque*—every thing that is, or that may be, having its own time, both to be and to be brought into being—and that being דַּעְתִּים of each.

principal reason why such great exertions were necessary to raise up the walls and to set up the gates, and so to place Jerusalem in a state of security against both surprise and assault.

And as we have pointed out one coincidence between the first obstruction to the effect of the first return from captivity, and the final undoing of the captivity by the second return under Ezra; so may we observe another, between the building of the temple consequent upon the first return, and the building of the wall consequent upon the other. The building of the temple, consequent upon that first return, began April or May, B. C. 535: and the resumption of the building, after it had once been suspended, it will be seen hereafter, bore date with Tuesday, August 31, B. C. 521. There was consequently as nearly as possible fourteen years' interval between. Between the mission of Ezra, B. C. 458, and the mission of Nehemiah, B. C. 444, there was the same; for the mission of Ezra will bear date from Wednesday, March 9, B. C. 458: and his arrival at Jerusalem, exactly four Jewish months later, coincided with July 5^q. The arrival of Nehemiah at Jerusalem bore date from Friday, July 26, B. C. 444, and the completion of the walls from Thursday, September 19, in the same year^r. The interval therefore between the mission of Ezra, supposing that to have had for its object the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its wall, as well as any thing else, and the actual completion of that work by the aid of Nehemiah, was as nearly as possible the same with the interval between the first laying the foundation of the temple, after the return from captivity, and the resumption of that work after being once suspended, before it was finally com-

^q Vide Dissertation xv. vol. ii. p. 18. ^r Vide Dissertation xviii. vol. ii. p. 139, 140.

pleted. The mission of Nehemiah, then, stands in the same relation to the mission of Ezra, with respect to the building of the wall, as the decree of Darius to the decree of Cyrus, with respect to the building of the temple. If the parallel does not hold still closer—if the building of the temple took up five years after it was resumed, but the wall was completed in fifty-two days—the reason is obvious; that the temple was not to be finished, like the wall, *in strait of the times*.

To proceed in the next place to the consideration of the point of time where the prophecy must be supposed to end: the most obvious remark which we should have to premise in reference to this subject would be, that among the conclusions suggested by the prophecy, at first sight, none is more evident than this, That *two* classes of events, which are neither the same in themselves, nor in their beginnings and their endings respectively, are connected together in the scope of its disclosures. Upon this point its language is definite and clear; and it is needless to add, the opinions of commentators are undivided.

To one of these classes we may give the name of The facts of the Christian ministry, and to the other, that of The facts of the Jewish war. The former are such, as Messiah the Prince; Messiah's cutting off; The confirmation of the covenant with many; The cessation of sacrifice and oblation. The latter are such, as The people of the Prince that should come, and its acts; The destruction of the city and the sanctuary; The end thereof with a flood; Desolations determined to the end of the war; The overspreading of abominations making desolate, until the consummation determined was poured upon the desolate.

The connection between these topics in verses 26

and 27 of the prophecy is too plain to be mistaken. If there is any interruption to that connection, it is due to the matter interposed between the end of verse 26, which first touches on the latter of them, and the end of verse 27, which resumes and finishes it. The matter which stands at the head of verse 27 is obviously not the same with the subject of the predictions at the end of verse 26: or with that of the predictions just after, at the end of verse 27. But the subject matter of the prophecy at the end of verse 27, is clearly the same with that at the end of verse 26. No further argument, therefore, is wanted to satisfy us that the matter which stands at the head of verse 27, partly in reference to the covenant, and partly to the cessation of sacrifice and oblation—is matter interposed—matter parenthetic—where it occurs; which neither carries on the topics of prediction at the end of verse 26, nor is itself taken up and prosecuted by those at the end of verse 27. Let this parenthetic matter, *pro tanto*, be set aside; and the course and succession of one and the same tissue of associated ideas, from the beginning of verse 25 to the end of verse 27, will be represented in the words of our Bible version, as follows:

Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, *shall be* seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.

And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof *shall be* with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

And for the overspreading of abominations he shall

make *it* desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

If now, by the one of these classes of events, we are justified in understanding the facts of the Christian ministry, and by the latter the facts of the Jewish war; then, it will follow that, associated as these may be in one and the same scope of futurity, yet being so distinct in themselves, a prophecy, which relates to and combines them both, could never be intended to have one and the same proper termination: the events of one of these classes, from the necessity of the case, must have been long fulfilled, or long have begun to be fulfilled, before those of the other could yet have begun to be. If, therefore, it was destined to have a proper termination at all, it is manifest it must have a double one; one for the events of one of these classes, and another for those of the other; and these, a determinate distance of time asunder, as much asunder at least as the first of the facts of the Christian ministry, and the last of the events of the Jewish war. And if one and the same prophecy, under the circumstances of the case, must of necessity have a double termination—then, by parity of consequence, it becomes far from an unreasonable presumption that it will be found to have a double beginning also; one to correspond to one of these terminations, and the other to answer to the other. All that is necessary to be assumed to confirm this presumption, is, that the prophecy must consist of a determinate number of weeks, in one of these cases, as much as in the other; and wheresoever it might begin, and wheresoever it might end, that it was always intended there should be the same distance of time between its extremes in each instance.

Now with the omission of the parenthetic matter, which stands at the beginning of verse 27, the number of weeks, comprehended by the prophecy, would appear to be seven weeks and sixty and two weeks, or sixty-nine weeks in all: the one week, and the half week, which would make up the difference between sixty-nine weeks, and seventy weeks, or at the utmost seventy and an half, are included in the matter set aside; and consequently do not for the present appear, and therefore cannot for the present be taken into account. Without these, the prophecy would appear to be one of sixty-nine continuous weeks; and sixty-nine continuous weeks, referred to some one point of departure, from which it must terminate with Messiah the Prince, that is, with the first of the facts of the Christian ministry, on the one hand; and sixty-nine continuous weeks, referred to some other, from which it must terminate with the consummation of the desolation determined, that is, with the last of the facts of the Jewish war, on the other.

Now with respect to the first of these points of departure, there can be no difficulty nor uncertainty in determining that. The prophecy itself has fixed it to that going forth of the word or commandment, about which so much has been already said. The sixty-nine continuous weeks, which were destined to end with Messiah the Prince, that is, with the first of the events of the Christian ministry, bear date from the going forth of the word or commandment to cause to return, and to build Jerusalem; and there can be no uncertainty about that point. But where shall we look for the point of departure, answering to an equal lapse of time, and destined to terminate with the last of the events of the Jewish war? where shall we fix the com-

mencement of the same number of continuous weeks, which shall find their conclusion in the consummation of the desolation determined?

The answer, which we might be prepared to return to this question, I admit is conjectural; but conjectural only, because we are considering, at present, not what the evidence of the event would demonstrate *must* have been intended, but what the language and structure of the prophecy would lead us to conclude beforehand *might* be intended. Now among the most reasonable expectations which we might bring with us to the examination of the prophecy, one would certainly be, that nothing would be found in it that was purely accidental, or unmeaning; the least of its peculiarities must be designed and significant, as much as the greatest. One of these peculiarities, and not the least prominent of all, is the distribution of the whole period of time, declared at the outset to be contained in it, into parts and parcels; the division of the seventy weeks, or seventy and an half, into one period of seven weeks, another of sixty-two weeks, a third of one week, and a fourth of half a week; all, it is true, when put together, equal to the seventy, or the seventy and an half, yet still, equal to it only, considered as broken, and divided into parts. Shall we say that this peculiarity was the mere result of chance? that nothing was intended by it—that nothing requires to be concluded from it? It would not only be a great disparagement to the prophecy to suppose this—but in three instances out of the four would be contrary to the plain matter of fact. Were the first of these four divisions accounted for—the three which follow are any thing but arbitrary or insignificant: they are divisions in the course and succession of time, marked out by the prophecy beforehand, which were founded in the na-

ture of things, and from the necessity of the case could not have been otherwise represented. The sixty and two weeks must be distinguished from the one week, and the half week must be distinguished from both ; because of the distinctness of the events which were to happen at the end of each, or to be transacted in the course of each respectively : events which are specified by the prophecy itself, and seen to be too distinct in themselves to be confounded together.

That division which appears at first sight to be accidental or arbitrary, and accidental or arbitrary, because nothing is specified as destined to follow at the end of it, is the division which stands at the head of all, that of the seven weeks in question. It does not appear, at first sight, why seven weeks of years should be detached from the whole number of seventy or seventy and an half, and be placed as an integral period by themselves, at the head of the rest ; especially when nothing is specified to follow at the distance of seven weeks of years from the proper beginning of the whole number, or at the distance of sixty-nine weeks from the termination of the whole number, which might have accounted for the division at once. We might safely collect, therefore, from the fact of this division so stated—that the final end contemplated by it, could never have been to specify some particular event, or to fix the time of some particular occurrence ; but, unless we assumed it to be altogether arbitrary and precarious, we could not be certain from the same fact that the division, even so stated, might not be intended to serve some purpose, which it would serve just as well by the mere fact of the division—by being barely cut off and detached from the rest—as if any thing were specified, however distinctly, to follow upon it.

Now one and the most obvious of those purposes which might be answered by the mere fact of a division—by the barely cutting off a certain number of weeks from the remainder, and nothing more—would be to serve as a note of time—to fix a chronological boundary between one course and succession of time before, and another course and succession of time after. No one will pretend to deny that the separation of seven weeks from the body of the remainder, might answer *this* purpose at least, though nothing else were intended by it; and would serve as a point of division between distinct periods and successions of time, though no event might be specified in conjunction with it. And when it is considered that the prophecy in all probability would be found to have a double beginning, because it appears that it must have a double termination; and yet there was no reason to conclude that the absolute duration of time, measured by the number of weeks of years contained by it, referred to either termination, should not continue one and the same—it will follow that some such notification would clearly be wanted, and therefore in all just reason was clearly to be expected, to determine the point of time where the decursus of weeks, answering to the second termination, was to begin, as much as the decursus of the same number, answering to the first. It is no unreasonable conjecture, therefore, that the separation of the seven weeks at the head of the prophecy was always intended to furnish this notification—to serve as this boundary between the decursus of the same number of weeks before and after it respectively; and a reason is thereby assigned for the first of the divisions, which, simply stated as it is, makes it as significant as any of the rest.

Among the other anticipations, therefore, which the consideration of the prophecy was calculated to suggest, one is this, That the division of the first of its periods into seven weeks, was intended to fix the point of time from which the same computation should begin and proceed to the fulfilment of the last of the events in that class of its predictions which related to the Jewish war, as had already begun, and would continue to proceed, to the fulfilment of the first of the corresponding events in that other class of its futurities, which related to the Christian ministry. And this point being once assumed—the question which presents itself next for discussion, is not, What is the common termination of the prophecy, as referred to both these ἀρχαί—for that in the nature of things it could have none—but what is its proper termination answering to the first of these points of departure, and what that which corresponds to the second; and each as determined beforehand by the internal evidence of the prophecy itself? And it will greatly illustrate and confirm the truth of all that has been thus presupposed, if it should turn out hereafter, as I trust it will, that there is just the same distance of time between these proper terminations, as between their corresponding beginnings.

I shall begin with considering the last of these questions, first: The proper termination of that class of the predictions in the prophecy, to which we have agreed to give the name of the events of the Jewish war. To the designation itself, perhaps, no one will object, who reflects that mention of war, if not of *the* war, occurs ῥητῶς in the prophecy itself*; and whether we

* In the words, ועד קץ מלחמה, of war, than, And to the end of the war; for the article is wanting which it would have been more correct to render, And to an end in the Hebrew before both these

render it by war indefinitely, or by *the* war in particular, all commentators are unanimous, that the thing intended in either case must be the same, the Jewish war, and the events connected with it. The Jewish war, it is true, is a complex description of things, and includes a multitude of particulars, which make up collectively the class of futurities combined in the scope of the prophecy with another, the events of the Christian ministry; but the proper termination of none of which could ever be said to be arrived, until the last of the events, comprehended under that description, had been fulfilled in its order, as well as the first.

For the further decision of this question, then—it would obviously be matter of preliminary consideration, before what point of time that succession of events, which goes by the name of the Jewish war, could not properly be said to have come to an end, as much as

substantives. The words that follow too, נחרצת שממור, would have been more correctly translated, *Shall be* sentences determined of desolations, than, Desolations are determined: for it is admitted that the first of these terms, though the participle feminine of Niphal, of the verb חרץ, may be used as a noun substantive—in which case its meaning is properly *sententia finalis*, or *decretoria*—a sentence decided—a final decision—from which there is no appeal—which cannot be evaded, and cannot be suspended—which must be executed in due course of things, when it has once been pronounced—or the like. The general sense of the proposition is certainly adequately represented in the Bible text version; which in this instance is much preferable to the marginal one: but it

is more literally exact to render it, And unto an end of war *shall be* sentences determinate of desolations—that is, desolation decreed upon desolation, the work of war, like the execution of one decree of a court of justice after another; until the war should come to a full end, or the executioners of justice should have performed their work. It was scarcely possible to describe the ravages of the Jewish war, for the several years that it lasted, in a more summary, yet a more graphic manner. Would the reader see a list of each of those sentences final of desolation, and the order and manner in which it was executed upon the Jews by the Romans; I refer him to my Exposition of the Parables, vol. v. part i. note on the prophecy on the mount, p. 353—358.

before what time it could not strictly be said to have begun. The prophecy itself, too, so far suggests the answer to this inquiry, as to place it beyond a doubt that the last of this class of events could never be said to have arrived, while “the consummation, and that determined, should yet remain to be poured on the desolate.” And hence it would be an obvious conclusion, that the consummation in question could not be supposed by it to have arrived, with the mere advent of the people of the prince that should come—nor even with the destruction of the city and the sanctuary, by their means, as a consequence of that coming: for it speaks of desolations to continue to an end of the war, and of a consummation, and of somewhat determined, to be poured on the desolate, even after that event. Hence, if this people of the prince to come is rightly to be understood of the Romans, under their prince or leader, Vespasian or Titus; and if the destruction of the city and the sanctuary to be effected by them, is only the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by the Romans under Titus; then, among the most obvious conclusions, suggested by the prophecy in this part of its predictions, this would be one, That the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, never was, nor ever was intended to be, the proper termination of that class of its events, to which we have given the name of the events of the Jewish war.

And, indeed, notwithstanding the concurrence of commentators, generally speaking, to look upon the destruction of Jerusalem as the close of the Jewish war, and so far of the desolations determined—it is surprising that any one should have fallen into this mistake, so contrary as it is to the internal evidence of the prophecy, which, speaking expressly of this class of its futurities, and of the order and succession of each

in relation to another—and so plainly describing beforehand the destruction of the city and the sanctuary, so plainly too passes beyond it, as prior to the end of war, and as part only, not the whole, of that measure of desolations, rigorously determined or decreed beforehand, and rigorously to be poured out and executed upon the desolate—before all could come to an end. Better it were to consult the testimony of history—and to inquire at Josephus, or from other sources of the necessary information—whether the Jewish desolations were summed up and completed in the capture of Jerusalem; whether there was not more of calamity to be endured, and more of desolation to be inflicted, the same in kind, however different in degree—even after that heaviest and most desolating portion of the whole. The answer of history, I apprehend, would be more in unison with the truth of the event—and more in harmony with that idea of it which might have been formed beforehand from the description so plainly given, by anticipation, in the prophecy itself; however little in accordance with the prepossessions and prejudices of commentators.

This misapprehension of the true sense of the original in the present instance, among commentators on the prophecy in our own country at least, appears to me to be due in part to what I cannot but consider (though I say it with all submission and humility) the erroneous version, which has been proposed and acquiesced in of the latter part of verse 27, taken in conjunction with verse 26. The prominent idea in verse 26, I admit to be the destruction of the city and the sanctuary, that is, of Jerusalem and the temple, by the people of the prince that should come: the end whereof, it is subjoined, should be with a flood; that is, an indiscriminate destruction—a promiscuous, exterminating visi-

tation, analogous to the sweeping, indiscriminate effect of a deluge or inundation, bursting upon a country, and carrying all before it: a very lively and very just description of that overwhelming ruin and desolation which after visiting all parts of the country previously, last, though not least, broke upon Jerusalem and the temple itself*. But from this point of time, which an-

* I know not, indeed, whether קצו בשטף the words which are here translated, And the end thereof *shall be* with a flood—the *prima facie* reference of which would be to the city and the temple, just before mentioned—are not rather to be referred to the people of the prince that should come. It is an objection to the previous construction, that the possessive pronoun affixed to קץ is masculine and singular both: and therefore supposes an antecedent both masculine and singular also: in which case, it must either be referred exclusively to sanctuary, or exclusively to people, both of which in the Hebrew are singular and masculine accordingly; which the word translated by *city* is not. Now there does not seem to be any particular reason why the end of the temple should be described as being with a flood—and not that of the city likewise. On the contrary, it would be more natural to conclude that the end of the city should be so described, than that the end of the temple should. Nor does it make any difference that the temple was the principal scene of the contest between the Jews and Romans, before all was over. The great loss of life—particularly that occasioned by famine—was in the city; and the con-

test for the possession of the city continued even when that for the temple was at an end; the capture of the city being a month later than the destruction of the temple. I conclude, therefore, for these reasons, and for others which might be mentioned, that the words, And his end *shall be* with a flood—are to be referred to the same antecedent of whom it was just before predicted that he should destroy the city and the sanctuary; that is, the people of the prince to come; and we may infer from this reference, that even after that destruction—his end it was supposed would be to come: it was still more or less distant; it was still to be with, or rather, in a flood—in something analogous to the continued gushing of a mighty, impetuous stream—which having been resisted or retarded for a time, when it has overcome that resistance, is still hurried forward in the same overwhelming manner as before. That קצו may bear this meaning, there can be no question; for קץ according to Gesenius, is properly an end either of space or of time—and it may very appropriately denote the point of time at which any given series of effects, which was destined to last a certain time, should come to an end.

swers to A. D. 70, the specific idea of the city and the sanctuary is dropped—as with good reason it might be, if both, at that point of time, had ceased to be: and the one idea, which predominates through the sequel to the end, is that of the full measure of calamity and suffering being far from exhausted, even after that large share of both which had thus been endured; of desolations determined to the end of the war, or as we have agreed rather to render it, of irreversible sentences of desolation still to be executed to an end of war—of abominations overspreading to the making desolate, until the consummation and that determined should be poured on the desolate. All these modes of describing the effect intended are manifestly in substance one and the same; and each of them may alike be said to amount to this: That whatever had been the degree of destruction or desolation as yet endured, up to that period in the history of the war, the same kind, if not the same degree of both, should continue to be endured, even beyond that point—until the utmost in the way of destruction and desolation, which had been determined on beforehand, should have been fully completed and carried into effect.

Commentators have been apt to imagine that the idea of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, is kept in view still to the end of this description, because they find an allusion, directly after, to the overspreading of abominations: which might admit of being con-

His end, then, as referred to the people of the prince to come, just mentioned, will be the point of time when he should cease to act as that people—that is, in that capacity in which he was to come, and in which until then he should appear. This is the capacity of the DESTROYER; first

and properly, it is true, of the city and the temple—but still generally of the DESTROYER: and as a destroyer he must still continue to act, until the work of destruction was complete: that is, his end, in that capacity, must be, as his beginning had been—in a flood.

nected with the historical fact of the erection of the Roman ensigns in and about the site of the city and the temple, both before and at the time of their destruction. Perhaps, too, the marginal version contributes somewhat to the same illusion, by proposing to substitute “the abominable armies”—for, “the overspreading of abominations:” and still more, the version of the Septuagint, or that of Theodotion, which renders the passage, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων, with or without ἔσται. Our Saviour, too, in his well known allusion to the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, standing in the holy place, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, or as St. Luke expresses the same thing, Jerusalem’s being encompassed with armies^s, has been thought to have had his eye upon this place in the Book of Daniel in particular.

With respect to the version of the Septuagint, or that of Theodotion, there is no authority in the Hebrew for it whatever; unless, in the copies from which those versions were made, שך was the reading where כנח is so at present. And as to the supposed allusion to this text by our Saviour, in the prophecy on the mount; it would be most contrary to the context of that prophecy, and to the dictates of common sense, to consider any reference intended there to the particular idea of the overspreading of abominations, which occurs here. The object of our Saviour’s referring his hearers on that occasion to the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, at all, was to furnish them with one, among other criteria, by which they were to know that the ἐρήμωσις of Jerusalem was *drawn nigh*; and so to provide for their own escape from the scene of that visitation, by a timely flight. With reason then might he be supposed to refer to an event,

^s Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Luke xxi. 20.

answering that description, which might happen before the destruction, and still more, before the siege of Jerusalem; but it would be contrary to all reason to suppose him to refer expressly to any thing, as a sign of the approaching downfall of Jerusalem, and a warning to his disciples to make their escape—which was not to happen before the beginning, or even before the end of the siege itself: by either of which times, and especially the latter, the safety of his own disciples must have been long since provided for, or it could not, without a miracle, be provided for at all. It is an objection, too, to the same supposition, that the word in the original, which occurs here, and which the Septuagint and Theodotion have translated by *βδέλυγμα* is in reality plural, and should have been rendered by *βδελύγματα*; while that which follows it in the Hebrew, supposing it a substantive, would not be one which would answer to *ἐρημώσεως*, coupled with *βδέλυγμα* in the prophecy on the mount, but to *ἐρημώσεων*; by which it is rendered both in the Septuagint and Theodotion accordingly. The *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*, however, is spoken of by Daniel the prophet, in other instances, if not in this; particularly xi. 31, and xii. 11, in both which it is translated by the Septuagint in strict accordance to the letter of the text; and to either of these might our Saviour allude, in his prophecy upon the mount, if he meant no more by the thing intended under that description, than the appearance of ensigns or standards in or about Jerusalem—which ensigns were an abomination, because they were idols; and an abomination of desolation, because they were the insignia of an invading and besieging army.

If there is obscurity in this part of the prophecy, and no one, perhaps, will deny that there is—it appears to me to be due partly to the same peculiarity of

structure, noticed already, the interposition of parenthetical matter between things that would otherwise have been connected. I apprehend this parenthesis to reside in the last words of verse 26: And the end thereof *shall be* with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. There seems to be no reason why these should not be understood as a parenthetical remark, illustrative or explanatory of what had been last predicted: the destruction of the city and the temple by the people of the prince that should come*. Let them be regarded as such: and let the rest of the prophecy stand as follows:

And the people of the prince that shall come † shall

* It is to be observed, however, that the above is proposed only on the further supposition that the reference in the words, And the end thereof, (which in this case would require to be translated, And its end,) is to the city and the sanctuary, or at least to the sanctuary, just mentioned. If they are not to be so referred, but to the people of the prince before mentioned, which is my opinion; there is no room for any parenthesis, nor any necessity to suppose one. One and the same description of consequences, from the point of time where the destruction of the city and the sanctuary is supposed to be over, will be carried on to the end, as follows:

And his end *shall be* in a flood:

And to an end of war *shall be* sentences determinate of desolations:

And upon wing of abominations *shall he be* making desolate;

And unto a consummation and a sentence determinate, shall be poured upon *the* made desolate.

The terms of this description shew that the language, in this part of the prophecy, is more or less poetical: and read in that antithetic and parallel order of structure in which Hebrew poetry more particularly delights—the first of these lines will go with the third, and the second with the fourth: and so read, the whole acquires wonderful light and perspicuity.

And his end *shall be* in a flood:

And upon wing of abominations *shall he be* making desolate.

And to an end of war *shall be* sentences determinate of desolations:

And to a consummation and a sentence determinate, shall be poured upon *the* made desolate.

† The articles are wanting in the original before each of the words rendered by *people* and

destroy the city and the sanctuary. And for the overspreading of abominations he shall make *it* desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

In the last part of this version resides what I conceive to be the principal inaccuracy of our Bible translation. We may object to *overspreading* as the version of the Hebrew, which properly denotes *a wing*: we may object to the particle *for*, in connection with it, which in the Hebrew is properly *upon*: and we may object to the introduction of the relative *it*, which is perhaps the greatest liberty of all; insomuch as there is no such pronoun in the Hebrew text, and to supply it endangers the sense of the passage, by leading to the inference that it refers, if to any antecedent, to the city and the sanctuary mentioned just before. We may object to the supplement of the definite

by *prince* respectively; and this circumstance of distinction ought to have been faithfully observed in the translation. The Septuagint version is so confused, or so interpolated, in the whole of this 26th verse, that it can scarcely be safe to appeal to its testimony; yet it is easy to see that it preserved the absence of the article by rendering עַם נַגִּיד, as it appears to have done, by βασιλεία ἐθνῶν. Theodotion has not preserved this distinction; but probably because he mistook עַם *populus*, for עַם אֶמָּה or שֹׁנֵן, which was very possible. In that case, if he referred the verb, to destroy, to Messiah, just spoken of as cut off, he would naturally supply the article before נַגִּיד, so as to make the whole, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον διαφθερεῖ σὺν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῷ ἐρχομένῳ.

The version of Aquila, however, shews us the proper force of the Hebrew: καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον διαφθερεῖ λαὸς ἡγούμενος ἐρχομένου: in conformity to which, I wish our own English version had always stood, And the city and the sanctuary shall a people of a leader to come destroy. And the word *leader*, it appears to me, should be used in preference to the word *prince*; though the Hebrew would admit of either: because Titus, the commander of the Romans, at the siege of Jerusalem—Vespasian, the commander of the same armies, through the course of the war, before him—and others of the Roman generals, commanders for the rest of the war, after him; were all leaders, ἡγούμενοι, or duces, but none of them princes, at the time.

article before the two words which follow, consummation, and that determined, if not before the last word in the sentence also : for in none of these instances is it present in the Hebrew, and in each of them the sense of the original requires it to be dispensed with, and in each of them except the last it might have been omitted, without offence to the idiom of our own language.

Might I be permitted to state the text of verse 26 and 27, with such omissions of the matter interposed, and such corrections of the Bible version, as, for the reasons assigned, I should think necessary, it would stand as follows :

And a people of a leader to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. And upon wing of abominations *shall* he *be* making desolate, even until a consummation and a sentence determinate shall be poured upon *the* made desolate*.

The principal recommendation of the above version is, that it preserves unbroken the unity of the description, by restricting it all to one and the same subject, the people of the leader to come ; for it will easily be perceived, that he who is supposed to be making desolate, until the sentence determinate was consummated on the made desolate, is the same people of the leader to come, who was to destroy the city and the sanctuary †.

* The sense of making *amazed*, *astonished*, or *confounded*, or being made *amazed*, *astonished*, or *confounded*, would suit these two words, rendered by *making desolate*, and *made desolate*, respectively. And the whole being understood of the ravages of a victorious, depopulating army, how well are both ideas combined in those

two lines of our own poet Gray!

Amazement in his van with flight combined,
And sorrow's faded form and solitude behind.

† We cannot make the same people the subject of the *being poured*, in the concluding part of the sentence ; because the form of the verb, rendered by *Shall be poured*, shews it must have for its governing substantive a noun in the feminine gender.

And with respect to the particular manner in which he is represented as carrying into effect this process of desolation, viz. upon wing of abominations: Wing of abominations—intended merely to personify the instrument of locomotion—is as allowable an Hebraism in this instance, as wings of eagles, Exodus xix. 4: to describe the mode in which God had brought the Israelites out of Egypt: or as any parallel mode of speaking, agreeably to the idiom of that language—the foot of pride, the hand of violence, the eye of concupiscence, or the like—to qualify the nature of the action by the most characteristic property of the instrument of action accordingly. I apprehend, therefore, that no good objection can lie against the idea of Wing of abominations, *per se*; to describe the manner in which a victorious army might be supposed to traverse a country, laying it waste in all directions. The coupling of the preposition על with כנף in this instance, is a strong argument of the correctness of that version: for the sense of that preposition, as we have already had occasion to remark, is properly *super*, or *upon*, and combined with the idea of a wing, it can express nothing so naturally as motion by or upon wings.

And why motion upon wing of abominations, in particular, should have been the image chosen to describe the movements of a victorious, but depopulating

נחצה is the 3. fut. singular feminine of Kal, from נחך, *effundi, destillare, liquari, mano*, or the like. The other two words, בלה the whole of a thing, a completion, a consummation, a full end, or the like; and נחרצה, *sententia finalis, decretoria*, a sentence determined, and irreversible, are feminine substantives. The conjunction of two such terms בלה

ונחרצה, might seem to be an instance of what is meant by the figure *ἐν δὲ δυνάμει*—the second of them being simply understood as the participle feminine of Niphal. The same conjunction occurs Isaiah x. 23. and xxviii. 22. I would render this last clause, And unto a consummation and a sentence determinate shall be poured upon *the* made desolate.

army, the reason may be, because this army was not to be *any* army, but the army of the leader to come; and the ensigns of this army were not to be ensigns of *any* description, but ensigns which were properly abominations, in a ceremonial or legal point of view: that is, the objects of an idolatrous worship. The ensigns of the Roman armies, it is well known, were only of two sorts, the *vexilla*, or σημαίαι, and the *aquilæ*, or ἀετοί; the former, at this period of their history, carrying the head, προτομή, or bust of the reigning emperor, the latter, figures of the eagle itself. Both these in the eyes of Jews would be abominations—because such likenesses or representations as their own law forbade them to make—but they would be especially so, under the circumstances of the case, because they were objects of worship on the part of the Roman soldiers, with whom it was the commonest article of military duty to offer Divine adoration, to bow down, and to burn incense or perform sacrifice to the images of their emperors on their standards, and to their eagles*.

* See the well known story in Josephus, of the golden eagle, dedicated by Herod over one of the gates of the temple: Ant. Jud. xvii. vi. 2. De Bello, i. xxxiii. 2: which illustrates the abomination in which figured representations of any description of animals were held by the Jews. Similar to this, in the inference to which it leads, is Philo's account of the dedication of the shields by Pilate, in the prætorium at Jerusalem: Operum ii. 589. l. 38—591. l. 10. De Virtutibus. That the σημαίαι, or *vexilla*, of the legions of the time, also, bore the προτομή of the emperor for the time being, and by the Jews were regarded as abomina-

tions on that very account, the appearance of which either in or about Jerusalem, or any where in their own country, they considered a pollution, appears from the incident mentioned by Josephus in the administration of Pilate, Ant. Jud. xviii. iii. 1. De Bello, ii. ix. 2: and from the similar incident in the last year of Tiberius, when Vitellius was on his march through Judæa, U. C. 790, A. D. 37, to make war upon Aretas: Ant. Jud. xviii. v. 3. In proof of the Divine worship paid to both see Jos. De Bello, vi. vi. 1: and Dio, xl. 18, and other authorities which might be quoted.

Now in what manner, we might ask, could the moving about of a large army over the face of the country in every direction—an army marshalled in battle array—an army consisting of horse and foot—an army divided into squadrons and companies, under their proper military commanders and leaders—and distinguished by their proper military ensigns and badges—be more fitly as well as more graphically expressed, than by the idea of an army of that description moving about on the wings of its ensigns? And if that army was a Roman army, and those ensigns were Roman ensigns—moving about upon wing of ensigns that were abominations, and consequently, upon wing of abominations?

An army, as an army, and more especially an army in battle array, can neither be said to move about nor to stand still, except as its ensigns do one or the other. An army, as an army, whether in motion or at rest, is not to be distinguished from its ensigns and standards, as in motion or at rest also. It was the duty of the Roman signifer at least, to set the example to the rest of the army, both in marching and in halting. A Roman army, on duty, stirred not until its standard-bearers had set forward, and halted not while their standards continued in motion. If it must be represented as moving about, therefore, and consequently in conformity to the idiom of the Hebrew language, as borne upon wings of some kind or another; it must be represented as moving about upon wings of its ensigns: and those ensigns being idols, or abominations, upon wings of abominations. And this is so natural an explanation of the meaning of the phrase in this instance, that under the idea of an army moving about upon wings of its ensigns, and those ensigns, ensigns of abomination, we need not suppose an allusion was pur-

posely intended to the motion of an army whose ensigns should consist of eagles, and those eagles be the objects of worship to the army itself—though such an allusion, if really intended, might account for the origin of the figure at once.

The events, which constitute the second class of futurities spoken of in the prophecy, briefly stated are the following: I. Messiah the Prince: II. The cutting off of Messiah: III. The confirmation of the covenant with many: IV. The cessation of sacrifice and oblation. And the connection between these, too, composing as they do one and the same continuous representation of the facts of the Christian ministry, would be rendered perceptibly clear in this instance also, if we might take the liberty of setting out of view, for the present, the matter interposed between the beginning of verse 26, and the beginning of verse 27: matter which has been found to relate exclusively to the events of the other class, combined with this, the facts of the Jewish war. With this omission for the present, the order of disclosures in the prophecy will stand, in the words of the Bible Text version, as follows:

Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, *shall be* seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.

And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself:

And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.

Now to consider these particulars in the above order—though there is no mention by name of such an event as the coming or appearance of Messiah; we

may notwithstanding take it for granted, that when it is stated, at the outset, there should be such and such an interval of time, *from* such and such a point of commencement, *unto* Messiah the Prince; this must be understood to mean unto the coming or appearance, the advent or παρουσία, of Messiah the Prince: and we may also conclude that such is the mode of connecting the coming in question with the lapse of the interval in question; that is, such are the terms employed to define both the beginning and the end of the interval in question, מן מצא דבר ('Απὸ ἐξόδου λόγου, Ab exitu sermonis, From going forth of a word) on the one hand, ער משיח נגיד on the other; (which Theodotion renders by Ἔως Χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου, the Vulgate by *Usque ad Christum ducem*, and our own Bible by *Unto the Messiah the Prince*—a version strictly literal in all but the articles before the words Messiah and Prince;) that as the course and succession of the specified time must begin to proceed *with* the going forth of the word in question, so it must come to an end with the coming and appearance of Messiah in question: the prophecy would be convicted of falsehood if the event should turn out to be otherwise; if the coming in question should take place either before or after the specified interval in question; if the interval should be come to an end, and Messiah be not yet come, or if the interval should still be current, and Messiah have already appeared.

Now this being the case, it must obviously make a considerable difference to the future interpretation of the prophecy, whether we suppose the coming and appearance of Messiah, which is thus restricted to a fixed point of time, to be meant of the birth of the future Messiah, or of his appearance in the discharge of his ministry. Either of these things, at first sight,

might appear to be equally capable of being intended by the allusion to Messiah the Prince; but it is certain that both could not possibly be meant: for it is certain that both the nativity, and the public appearance in his ministry, of one and the same person—between which periods of his history there was always to be a determinate interval of time, of no inconsiderable extent—could not possibly be each intended, as that one and the same event, which was to happen neither earlier nor later than the end of that one and the same lapse of time, dated from some one and the same commencement thereof. If the birth of Christ was the event intended, at the end of the sixty-nine weeks, by Messiah the Prince, his public appearance in the discharge of his ministry must be excluded from the scope of the prophecy: if his public appearance in the discharge of his ministry, at the end of the time in question, was the thing contemplated, then his nativity as such must be totally left out of sight.

Among the other preliminary questions, then, which would necessarily require to be considered before we could advance a step towards the final explanation of this celebrated prophecy, one would manifestly be, and not the least important of all: Supposing by Messiah the Prince, what all commentators are agreed upon, the coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* of our Saviour to be meant; and supposing, what is too plainly determined by the prophecy itself to admit of a doubt, this coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* to be fixed to the end of a specified interval of time; is this coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* of the Messiah, at the end of this time, to be understood of the coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* of our Saviour at his birth, or at his entrance upon his ministry?

The answer to this question, it appears to me, is

supplied by the prophecy itself. The coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* in question, if understood of the coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* of any one particular person, must be understood of a coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* of that same person, in the sense, and in the capacity, in which he is spoken of in the prophecy, and in which he is recognised and exhibited there. And this is not any sense, or any capacity, in general, but the sense and the capacity of Messiah or Prince, in particular. This truth appears to be so clearly intimated in the prophecy, that it seems scarcely possible without the grossest hallucination to overlook it: and yet it is a distinction of great importance. It is so plainly implied at least, that the word which is used to express the sense, and to denote the capacity in question—that is, to set forth the person intended by it in his most appropriate character—is applied to him in both the instances of its occurrence, in verse 25, and verse 26, respectively, not as what it is in itself, an appellative or noun of quality, denoting *anointed one*, but as a proper name. In both those instances of its occurrence, at least, it is used without the article; which considering its primary sense and meaning, it could not be except as a proper name. It is used in short here, in Hebrew, just as the word *Χριστὸς*, which answers to it, and originally denoted *anointed one*, as much as it, came to be used in Greek, when it began to be applied to our Saviour, and to be recognised in the language of Christians and Gentiles both, as his proper and personal appellation, not less than Jesus, which was always his proper name from the first*.

* This use of the word, משיח, in fact the standing idiom of scripture. Compare 1 Sam. ii. without the article, especially 10, the first instance of any such in its reference to the Messiah, use of the term, with that special or the Anointed, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, is

The conclusion, which we are authorized to build upon this peculiarity in the mode of designating the person whose coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* are intended in the prophecy, seems to be this; That his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία*, in no capacity, can be properly intended by it, which was not, strictly speaking, a coming, appearance, and *παρουσία*, in his character and capacity of Messiah or Christ. The question then which we have to consider at present is reducible to this: Will the coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* of our Saviour at the moment of his nativity, or his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* at the time of his entrance upon his public ministry—answer to the description of his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* in the recognised character of Messiah, with the greatest propriety and greatest truth? No one can hesitate to say, his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* at the time of his entrance upon his public ministry. For who is prepared to maintain that his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία*, simply at his birth, was his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία*, in the recognised character of Messiah? Who is prepared to maintain that the first thirty years of his life upon earth—years spent in the privacy of domestic retirement—years of which there is no account in any of the gospel histories of his life—were years of Messiahship properly so called? Who is prepared to maintain that he assumed no new character when he entered upon his ministry? that he appeared thenceforward in public in no other capacity than he had always appeared in from the first? that he spent the last three years of his life upon earth in no other mode than he had passed the thirty preced-

reference, which occurs in the Old Testament. That the word otherwise is not used without

the article, especially as an appellative, appears from Leviticus iv. 3. 5. 16, &c.

ing? Who, in short, is prepared to maintain that he appeared in the character of Messiah, before he became Messiah? For what is Messiah, but Christ, or Anointed? and how could Messiah become Messiah until he had received his unction? and when did he receive his unction, before the descent of the Spirit upon him? and when did the Spirit descend upon him, before he received baptism at the hands of John? and when did he receive baptism at the hands of John, before he entered, or was ready to enter, on the discharge of his public ministry*?

* An unction was previously necessary to confer the character of priest, of prophet, or of king, upon the proper subject of any one of them; and much more on one, who should unite them all in his single person, as our Saviour was intended to do. This fact is too notorious of the first and the third of these characters, to require any proof: and that it is equally true of the second, may be gathered from Psalm cv. 15: 1 Kings xix. 16: Isaiah lxi. 1: Luke iv. 18. And while we may freely admit, that by virtue of this designation, our Saviour enjoyed a prescriptive right to each of these titles, and each of these offices, from the moment of his birth; we may not less confidently maintain, that he did not actually assume them, or actually begin to exercise them, until he had acquired a right to do both by virtue of his baptism: when only he received that unction, or underwent that process, analogous to an unction, which was indispensably necessary to the acquisition and exercise of each. Till then, these several charac-

ters were not active but dormant in him. And if this unction, properly so called—that solemn, preliminary ceremony, which was necessary to consecrate to each of these high and holy offices, the person appointed to sustain them—did not take place at his baptism, when, besides the ablution of his body by water, the true antitype of the holy chrism, or anointing oil, was poured without measure upon him, in the descent of the Spirit by which that ablution was followed; it would not be easy to say when it did. See on this subject, Dissertation xix. vol. ii. 189—191.

It appears to me, indeed, that the same act, which constituted Messiah Messiah, that is, Christ or Anointed, made him משיח also. The proper sense of this word is ἡγούμενος, Dux, or Leader; as appears from the fact that in the Septuagint it is rendered by ἄρχων, or Ruler, eight times; by βασιλεὺς, or King, twice; by ἐπιστάτης, or Prefect, once; but by ἡγούμενος, or Leader, twenty-eight times. The conjunction of Messiah and משיח is made by

Among the most natural of those presumptions, therefore, respecting the meaning of its own dis-

the prophecy itself; so that the same point of time, and the same act, which made him the one, must have made him the other also. Nor is Micah v. 2. any difficulty; even though St. Matthew's interpretation of the word there used, which is מוֹשֶׁל, be adopted to shew that מוֹשֶׁל was equivalent to נָגִיד, or ἡγούμενος: for this prophecy would be equally true, at what time soever one, actually born at Bethlehem, whether נָגִיד from the moment of his birth or not, became so afterwards.

Now what is this word, נָגִיד, or ἡγούμενος, but Dux, or Leader? and what can the application of that name to Messiah specifically denote so properly as the relation in which, from the time that he began to act as Messiah, he began also to stand to his people; viz. that of their Master, their Teacher, their Head, or Leader? It is as נָגִיד, ἡγούμενος, or Leader, that Messiah stands in the relation of Shepherd to his people; at least if the most distinctive circumstance of that relation of the shepherd to the sheep, among the Jews more particularly, be considered; viz. that the shepherd always walked at the *head* of the sheep; the shepherd led them in and led them out; and the sheep were trained to follow him. On this subject see my Exposition of the Parables, vol. ii. 493—498. Among the Jews, too, the master in public was wont to precede or walk before the disciples or scholars, and they to follow him; which might be collected by implication from 2 Kings ii. 3. 5.

of Elijah and Elisha, and appears very plainly of our Saviour and his disciples, from Mark x. 32. In the Book of Revelation, too, Messiah is נָגִיד, or ἡγούμενος; whether as the Lamb whom the 144,000 of the sealed follow whithersoever he goes, xiv. 4; or as the Rider on the white horse, whose name is the Word of God—going forth to the great day of Armageddon, followed by the armies of heaven, xix. 11. 13, 14.

It seems to me, then, that Messiah first became נָגִיד when he first began to collect disciples; that is, to have those about him from that time forward, whose acknowledged Head, whose Master and Teacher, whose Leader or καθηγούμενος, in one word, he was designed to be. He is still ἡγούμενος, or Leader, though on a much larger scale, as standing in the relation of Head to the whole of his church: but he will not acquire the full meaning of that descriptive appellation of his person, nor enter upon the utmost extent of the relation to his people, in which he stands, by virtue of it, until the body of his church becomes coextensive with the body of mankind; and Messiah is rendered נָגִיד, or ἡγούμενος, to the whole of the earth. For these reasons, and because it is more in conformity to the strict literal meaning of the term itself, I think נָגִיד through the whole of this prophecy, and especially as applied to the Messiah, should be rendered by Leader, and not by Prince. Compare Isaiah lv. 4.

closures, which the prophecy was calculated to raise beforehand, one would be this : That the coming, appearance, and *παρουσία*, of a certain person, which was to take place exactly at the end of the first sixty-nine weeks of its whole duration—being described as his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* as Messiah, if it is to be understood of a coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* of our Saviour Jesus Christ at all, must be understood of his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία* in his recognised character of the Messiah, and nothing else; and therefore in his public capacity, and in the public discharge of his ministry : and consequently that the first sixty-nine weeks of the prophecy, which find their proper termination with that coming, must find their proper termination not with the date of the Nativity, whatever that might be, but with the date of the commencement of the Public Ministry of the Messiah, howsoever that might be to be determined.

This conclusion, which seems only a necessary inference from the description of the person himself, whose coming is intended, as given in the details of the prophecy ; is confirmed, and placed beyond a question, by the statement premised to the whole, declaring the purposes of the weeks, or the purposes of the prophecy in general. Seventy weeks, said the angel, at the outset of these communications, are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, for such and such purposes—that is, with a view to such and such effects or consequences ; which he proceeded to specify in their order : and every one of which, when rightly explained and understood, will be seen to be of such a nature as not only to be connected with the coming of the Messiah in general, but to presuppose his advent in particular, and to be of necessity much nearer the point of their own fulfilment with the actual com-

mencement of his public ministry, than with the moment of his coming into the world.

In order to this explanation, we have only to consider what was the object of the coming of the Messiah into the world at all; and what was the end proposed by it, with respect to the parties most immediately concerned in the fact itself—ourselves on the one hand, and the Messiah himself on the other. With respect to ourselves, the purpose of his coming may be most comprehensively yet most summarily stated as follows: To make an atonement for the sins of mankind, and so to reconcile them to God: To lay the foundation of a saving faith, that is, to supply the proper object of a justifying faith, in himself and in the merits of his own atonement: To consummate the scheme of the Divine dispensations with and in behalf of his moral and responsible creatures: that is, to close the series of Divine revelation, by the fullest and most perfect communication of the Divine will, on all points both of faith and of practice, that had ever yet been given, or should ever yet be required to be given. And with respect to the Messiah himself, the object of his coming into the world may be briefly stated as follows: After doing all that has been specified above, as done and intended to be done, for our sakes, to enter himself into the enjoyment of his own reward; to sit down at the right hand of God, in his recognised capacity of Lord and Christ, the Captain of salvation, and Prince of life—at the head of the mediatorial kingdom, and supreme both in heaven and earth, or subject to none but the Father only.

Now these are the purposes set forth by the prophecy, in verse 24, as the objects for which the weeks were determined; that is, as the destined effects and consequences, which were to be brought to pass in the

course of that interval of time, contained by the weeks from first to last : and what is more, they are purposes represented there in the very order in which they have been stated above ; which every one must allow to be the order of the event, or the order in which the ideas of the things intended would be most naturally associated in a prospectus or view of them, beforehand.

“ Seventy weeks are determined,” declared the angel in the first place, “ upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity :” with which declaration we will pause at present ; because these three propositions, though individually distinct, will be found, if I mistake not, virtually the same ; and the first of the purposes, contemplated by the prophecy, though specified to consist of three particular objects, to be summed up in reality in one, as the result of the whole.

The marginal variations upon the above version serve to shew that the Hebrew will admit of other renderings, which will bring the translation nearer to a literal conformity to the original. With these alterations, the whole would stand, “ To restrain the transgression—And to seal up sins—And to make reconciliation for iniquity :” and that this version, upon the whole, would be more literal, the English reader himself may judge, by being told, that the same word, which, in the second of these clauses, is rendered by *to seal up*, occurs again directly after in the allusion to vision and prophecy : where the Bible text version itself had rendered it by *to seal up*, though before it rendered it by “ to make an end of,” instead of rendering it in both instances alike. No change, we observe, is proposed in the margin for the text version of the third of the clauses, “ To

make reconciliation for iniquity:" and it may be proper to remark, that the text version of that part stood perhaps the least in need of correction of all.

The same marginal authority shews us, that the word which was rendered in the first of these clauses by "to finish," would be more closely expressed by "to restrain." I will add, that it is equally capable of being rendered by "to shut up;" and in the Septuagint it is translated by κατακλείω, as well as by other cognate terms in Greek*. The most important preliminary remark, however, which we should have to make on the literal meaning of these clauses generally, would concern the three words more particularly, which are rendered by "transgression," by "sins," and by "iniquity," respectively. It is far from an accidental or arbitrary conjunction of terms which has brought these words together, as something united, and yet separated them from each other, as something distinct: as the following observations, I trust, will shew.

* אָל the verb in question, is rendered in the *o'*. once by ἀνέχω, once by συνέχω, once by φυλάσσω, once by ἀποκλείω, and once by κατακλείω: all more or less to the same effect, and denoting to shut up, to keep in prison, to confine, or the like. Both Theodotion and the Septuagint, in this instance, indeed, have understood it in the sense of συντελεσθῆναι. Aquila too rendered it by συντελέσαι. Our translators, it seems, adopted this version: and the Lexicons would imply that such is its proper sense in the conjugation Pihel with points. But distinctions which depend upon the points have of course no place in the construction of Hebrew without points: and it seems to be a-

greed upon that *concludere, continere, συγκλείσαι, or κατακλείσαι, to conclude or shut up*, as in a prison, is one of the most natural meanings of the word. See Jeremiah xxxii. 2, 3. Ps. lxxxviii. 9. Hence it is that אָל as a substantive denotes confinement: and בית אָל is the Hebrew for a prison, or house of confinement. It is needless to add, that this meaning is by far the most suitable to the context, or to this word in particular, considered as standing in conjunction with two other coordinate terms, one of them denoting to seal up, the other to cover over, efface, or obliterate, an old exterior, by superinducing a new one upon it, or in its stead.

The first of these words, we perceive, is *פֶּשַׁע*; and the primary sense of that substantive, more especially as referred to the verb from which it is directly derived, it is agreed among the learned in the Hebrew language, is to express what would be rendered in Latin by *defectio*, or *prævaricatio*; in Greek, by ἀποστασία, or παράβασις; in English, by *falling away*, or *transgression*; all of them however in the special sense of rebelling against God, of apostatizing, and falling away from him in particular, or the like. Its proper and most natural meaning is therefore to denote the origin and beginning of sin—considered as a departure from the fixed rule of duty or standard of obedience, prescribed by God for his moral and responsible creatures; which must be by swerving, declining, and falling away from it, in some manner or other; for a fixed rule of duty admits of no deviation—and every instance of disobedience, as far as it is a departure from the standard of such a rule, is so far a deflection from rectitude. It would apply preeminently to the act of Eve, as the first instance of that deflection from original rectitude, and of that contravention of the will of God, as the standard of obedience to his moral and responsible creatures, which was ever committed; when she fell from innocence by plucking the forbidden fruit: and it applies to the acts of moral and responsible agents generally, in every instance of their conduct since, as often as they still offend against the standard of their duty by the commission of any thing forbidden; and so far decline to the right hand or to the left from the straightforward path of rectitude, prescribed by the moral Governor and Superior, for his moral creatures; in which they are bound to walk.

The next of these pregnant terms is חטאות; the

proper sense of which is, that slipping or falling, that going astray, that missing the road, or the like, which is the necessary consequence of swerving to the right hand or to the left, from the straightforward path in which any one would otherwise be bound to proceed. The transition from this proper sense to the notion of *ἁμαρτία*, peccatum, or sin, as the direct effect of an act of transgression, properly so called—to express both the sin which is thereby committed, and the guilt or reatus, which is entailed by it on the agent—is the most easy and natural imaginable. It is not without reason, then, that this word stands next to the preceding, in the order of recitation; for the thing denoted by it evidently stands next to that which is denoted by the other, in the order of thought. Nor is it without reason, too, that the word expressive of the first of these ideas is in the singular, פשע, transgression; but this, which expresses the second, stands in the plural, חטאות, sins: for the idea of transgression, as such, is equally applicable to all sins, considered as instances of deflection from the same line of rectitude alike: transgression, as such, therefore is necessarily one, though the instances of transgression, that is, sins themselves, may be innumerable.

The third of these remarkable words is עץ, a noun immediately derived from a verb, the proper sense of which is “to be crooked, to be perverted;” and, therefore, whatever other meanings the noun may have, it has none so proper as that of Pravity or Perverseness, the opposite of Rectitude or Righteousness: such pravity or perverseness, opposed to rectitude, as in matters of obedience, or disobedience, must of necessity go wrong and not right; in all questions of observing the strict rule of duty, must imply no greater power to proceed in the straightforward path, without swerv-

ing to the right or to the left, than a drunken man has of keeping his footing, without reeling as he goes, or a lame man of walking upright, without a constant liability to fall. If the same word has any other meaning, as that of sin, or of guilt, or of iniquity, or even of punishment for sin, or the like, (meanings assigned to it in the best lexicons of the Hebrew language,) still it has no such meaning except as derivable from this primary one of distortion, pravity, or perverseness, which lies at the bottom of them all. The proper idea conveyed by the word *יָדָה*, then, would so far correspond to the technical notion of what is meant in the language of divines by *original sin*: that is, the inherent pravity, the inherent sinfulness, distortion, or perverseness of disposition, and liability to sin, which is a necessary consequence of the corruption of human nature. This proper notion of the word, therefore, is only one degree removed from the idea of Imputed Iniquity; that circumstance in the relative situation of a moral and responsible agent, to him to whom he is responsible, which describes *his* case who lies and must lie in the sight of God, when considered as he is, under the imputation of inherent depravity; that essential ingrained character of perverseness—which is inseparable in the eye of God from the idea of such of his creatures as labour under a necessary tendency to sin.

Between these several terms, then, and the proper meanings to be attached to each, we may now perceive there is the closest connection, and yet a very clear distinction. They lead to each other as naturally as cause and effect; and they suggest each other as spontaneously as all correlated ideas of necessity do: and yet they are as distinct from each other also. The first can have no being, but it will be followed by the second; nor the second, but it will be succeeded by the

third. Transgression will be the parent of sin, and sin of sinfulness; and sinfulness will carry along with it the imputation of iniquity, the notion of inherent depravity*.

When, therefore, we consider that the subjects, thus brought together in the order of expression, are actually united in the order of thought by community of nature and correlation; it will appear only a reasonable inference from this fact, that the *restraining* spoken of with reference to the first, must be something analogous to the *sealing up* spoken of with reference to the second; and both of them to the *making of reconciliation* spoken of with reference to the third: or else there will be no longer any such parity of ratio between the acts predicated of these various subjects, as there might naturally be expected to be, from the parity of ratio or correlation, which prevails among the subjects themselves. And with respect to this act in the last instance of all, the proper subject of which is *IN* or Inherent Depravity, we may observe that what is here expressed by *making reconciliation*, is properly to change the external appearance of any thing, by

* Ideas or words, which are so connected as the above, will spontaneously suggest one another, in whatsoever order they may be arranged; just on the principle that the effect will suggest the cause, as well as the cause the effect. Hence, it would have made no difference to the relation between the things, if the words which express them had been stated in an order the reverse of the above: as is to a certain extent the case with the enunciation of the same three words in the second of those remarkable texts, Exodus xxxiv. 6, 7, where the

LORD is described as passing by before Moses, on Sinai, and proclaiming, The LORD, the LORD God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin—נָשָׂא עֵן וְרַחֲמִים וְרַחֲמִים: a text which is the more remarkable, as being, I believe, the only one, besides this verse in Daniel, where these three words, and the three things denoted by them, are combined in the same proposition, or series of propositions. Cf. Numbers xiv. 18.

superinducing upon it a new colour, new habit, new coating, a new form and appearance generally; and so hiding or concealing what it was before, by covering it with what is new. It has no sense so proper as that of blotting out or effacing an external appearance of a certain kind, by covering it over with an appearance, still external, of a different kind; as when a wall that was black is whitewashed or plastered, and so rendered white. The transition from this proper sense to that of the change of the aspect, under which the subject of inherent depravity would come to be regarded in the sight of God, by virtue of such an expiation as should make amends for that iniquity, and by virtue of such an imputation of the merits of that expiation to the subject thereof, as should convert the aspect of inherent depravity in the sight of his Creator, into the aspect of inherent righteousness—would be obvious. And such being the sense of the word—to cover over, or efface, the appearance of perverseness or iniquity in the proper subject, by virtue of the imputation of righteousness, the effect of some proper atonement—analogue to this sense of the word, and analogue to the act which it expresses with reference to its proper subject, עָן, should be the sense of the coordinate terms, and the corresponding acts which they express, with reference to the coordinate subjects, חַטָּאוֹת and פְּשָׁע, respectively; and so they will be, if the one be considered equivalent to shutting up, and the other to sealing up; for to shut up, or to seal up, and to cover over, in the sense and with the effect of putting or keeping out of sight, of hiding or obscuring from view, in each case, are obviously one and the same.

With these changes then of the received translation, in the several clauses of the first verse of the prophecy, the whole will run as follows: Seventy weeeeks are de-

terminated upon thy people and upon thy holy city, To shut up the transgression, and To seal up sins, and To cover over depravity: and the one thing intended under these various modes of expressing it, will be neither more nor less than the great Christian truth of the Atonement, and the effect or consequence thereof, in shutting up—in sealing up—in one word, covering over, and so hiding from view, in the sight at least of God, human transgression—human sins—and human perverseness, sinfulness, or inherent depravity. To shut up the transgression, to seal up sins, and to cover over inherent depravity, by virtue of imputed righteousness, may very well bear this explanation. Nor, should any one ask the reason why Transgression, in the first of these propositions, alone has the article before it—and transgression with the article before it alone stands in the singular; and in addition to the explanation already assigned for that peculiarity, should conjecture that by *the* Transgression alluded to might possibly be intended THE Transgression, preeminently; the one great, original act of Transgression, by which the many were made sinners^a, as about to be undone and cancelled for ever, by the one great act of obedience on the part of Messiah, to which St. Paul attributes an equally general and extensive efficiency in making the many righteous^b—should I be disposed to dissent from this conjecture, but rather to agree with it entirely.

After the explanation of the first three clauses of this verse, we may soon dispose of the fourth, which assigns the next object of the Weeks; To bring in everlasting righteousness. There is nothing to object to this version of the words, except that the verb is properly not to bring *in*,^c but to bring *on*; to cause to come: and ever-

^a Romans v. 19.

^b Ibid. 19. Cf. 12. 15—18.

lasting righteousness is properly righteousness of ages, *δικαιοσύνην αἰώνων*, or, as the Septuagint and Theodotion both have rendered it, *δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον*.

Now what is this righteousness of ages, but the effect of justification by faith? that imputation of justice or righteousness in the eye of God, on behalf of his moral and responsible creatures, which takes the place of the imputation of sin or guilt, by virtue of faith in that means of atoning for sin which he has himself appointed; and therefore presupposes both the material act of that atonement, by which sin was expiated, to have preceded, and the proper object of justifying or saving faith, in the merits of that atonement to be applied to the individual sinner through faith, to have been provided. That this, and this only, is the righteousness of ages—the only ground of admission into the kingdom of heaven, which is a kingdom of ages, and the only means of continuing therein through its never ending course and succession of ages—no one familiar with the first principles of Christian doctrine will presume to deny. It is with reason, therefore, that this fourth clause comes next to the preceding in specifying the purposes contemplated by the prophecy; all being referred to the one great scheme of human redemption. Inherent guiltiness must be done away by its proper atonement, before it can be superseded by imputed righteousness: and imputed righteousness must presuppose an object of justifying or saving faith, before it can become effectual to the justification and salvation of the sinner. The first of these effects was provided for by the death of Christ on the cross; the latter, by the proposal of Christ crucified, in the capacity of Saviour, to the faith of his creatures and followers. The atonement for sin in general was made by the one; the application of the merits of that atone-

ment to the sins of the individual is made by the other.

The next of the clauses, and the object specified by it, is rendered in the English Bible by “To seal up the vision and prophecy,” but by the Septuagint and Theodotion both, by “To seal up vision and prophet,” which is more agreeable to the letter of the Hebrew. To seal up here is the same word which occurred before ; and, therefore, though one of the senses of sealing, in our own language at least, may be to confirm, to ratify, or to fulfil ; it would be more consistent with the context of the prophecy to prefer the sense of sealing, as equivalent to shutting up, or removing from view ; even if that were not the proper sense of the word in the original, which nevertheless is the case. סתם, the word here employed, is not used in Hebrew, like ἐπισφραγίζομαι in Greek, or *to seal* in English, in the sense of confirming or ratifying by setting to a seal, as a mark of attestation, or the like ; but like *obsigno* in Latin, or κατασφραγίζομαι in Greek, in the sense of removing and keeping out of sight, by setting to a seal which prevents a thing’s being exposed to view ; or of closing up, and making inaccessible, by setting to a seal which prevents approach. I do not find that this word has in Hebrew the sense of *fulfilling*—understood as equivalent to *verifying* and *confirming*—though it may have that of *completing* or *finishing*, with the further effect of putting an end to, because completed or finished : for what is completed or finished, may so far be said to be sealed, but, as admitting of no further additions, it must so far be put an end to. And this distinction is not unimportant ; for if we proceed to consider what must be meant by the subject of this sealing, Vision and Prophet—in the first place, it is to be observed that there is no authority in the Hebrew for the introduc-

tion of the article before the word *vision*, as if any particular vision were intended ; and in the next place, the proper sense of this word in the Hebrew, next to its first and most simple one of sight or vision, is to express a Divine revelation : and in like manner, the proper sense of the word combined with it, anterior to its secondary one of a prophet, or one inspired to foretell the future, or commissioned by God to his people for some particular purpose—is that of an organ or instrument of communication between God and man, in any way, and for any purpose, in general. The words *vision* and *prophet*, therefore, regarded in their proper and primary meaning respectively, will describe the authorized channels of communication between God and his moral creatures, whether under the Mosaic dispensation or any other, in revealing his will to men, or answering some purpose, for which an Interpreter or Sequester, a Μεσσης or Mediator, is necessary even between God and man, as between two parties ; for The mediator, as St. Paul assures us^d, is not *a mediator* of one. The sense of the clause then in general will amount to this ; That among the other effects to be consummated within the period of time allotted to the Weeks, one should be, to dispense with the agency of mediate instruments of this description for ever—to make an end of all further communications between God and man, requiring the instrumentality of vision and prophet, and so to *seal up* both. It can hardly be necessary to observe, that one of the objects of the coming of the Son of God himself, in the fulness of time, in the capacity of the Shiloh of his Father—and certainly one of the effects of it—was to complete the scheme of the series of Divine revelations, by supplying whatever was necessary to render it entire and

v Gal. iii. 20.

perfect: to supersede consequently all further service of seer and prophet—coming upon the same errand, and accredited for the same purposes: to be himself the sole prophet and teacher of his people—the sole Mediator and Interpreter between God and man—from that time forward to the end of time. It is needless to add, that after the appearance of John Baptist there was no seer or prophet, like them of old time, but our Saviour himself; and after our Saviour superseded John in the proper discharge of the work of his ministry, there was, and there has been, no seer nor prophet, like those of old, from that time to this. Our Saviour is now, and ever has been, since the time when he first openly assumed the character of the Messiah, the one great Prophet and Teacher, of whom Moses, and all the prophets who appeared before his birth, were but the forerunners and types.

The last of the purposes declared by the prophecy to be contemplated in the scope of its Weeks beforehand, is rendered in the English by, And to anoint the most Holy. The Septuagint version of the same words is, *Kaì ἐνφράναι ἄγιον ἁγίων*; and that of Theodotion, *Kaì τοῦ χρίσαι ἄγιον ἁγίων*. Both of these, it appears to me, are preferable to our own, as more exactly in conformity to the Hebrew; especially in what relates to the absence of the article before *ἄγιον ἁγίων*. For I cannot but think, that the unction or anointing here spoken of is not that unction of our Saviour which took place at his baptism; (an unction, at this period in the order of the purposes supposed to be contemplated by the Weeks, long since over and past; an unction which made him Messiah *ἡγούμενον*, and consecrated him for his ministry, and for acting in that capacity :) but that unction which took place at his reception into heaven, and his session at the right hand of God; an unction

made, as the Psalmist declares^w, with the oil of gladness, poured on the Messiah by his God, above his fellows; that is, his fellows, whether angels or men, to each of whom he was otherwise allied by community of nature alike. With this specific occasion of his anointing in view, it would make little difference whether we rendered the Hebrew verb (which certainly properly means *to anoint*) with the Septuagint, by *ἐνφράναι*, or with Theodotion and our own Bible, by *χρίσαι*, or *to anoint*: for both will express the act and the effect of an unction with the *oil of gladness* in particular.

But with respect to what follows, To anoint the most Holy, or what the Hebrew must be supposed in this case to denote, To anoint the Holy of Holies; it is an objectionable version, not only because it introduces the article where it is wanting in the original, but because it leads of necessity to the inference, that the subject of this unction, whosoever he was, was either solely the Most Holy, or *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, the Holy of Holies; as if there were none holy but he, or none so eminently so, as he. But we must not forget that the Holy of Holies, or the Most Holy, is a title of distinction that equally belongs of right, and is equally true, in the most intense sense of the words, when applied to each of the Persons of the Most Holy and ever blessed and ever undivided Trinity in Unity. Better it were to adhere to the letter of Scripture in this instance, and to render the words with Theodotion, And to anoint AN Holy of Holies, than to endanger the possible mistake, that even our Saviour, in his human or angelic capacity, in which alone he could be the subject of an unction at all, was alone the Most Holy or the Holy of Holies absolutely. Holy of Holies, and

^w Psalm xlv. 7.

Most Holy, he may, and he must be, in comparison of men or of angels; but the Holy of Holies, or the Most Holy absolutely, he cannot be, if the catholic doctrine of the Trinity in Unity be true.

If I may be permitted to state my own opinion on the sense of this part of the prophecy more especially—I should be inclined to think that ἅγιος ἁγίων, considered as the subject of an unction specially mentioned just before, was a mode of designation, purposely chosen in this instance, to describe our Saviour, with the greatest exactness, at that point of time, and in that capacity, when and in which he entered preeminently into his joy, and sat down at the right hand of God: because sitting down, at that time, and in that place, in a threefold capacity, each of which required a specific and individual holiness, and all three consequently a general and threefold one; the capacity of Priest, of Prophet, and of King. One who was sitting down at the right hand of God, in each of those characters—one whose instalment in his mediatorial office, at the right hand of God, amounted to an unction or consecration in each of these capacities—might justly be described as an Holy of Holies, whether as *the* Holy of Holies or not—might well be represented as uniting in his person the attributes of a threefold holiness.

With regard to the next of the events of this class, the cutting off of Messiah; the special connection of this, with the lapse or decursus of the threescore and two weeks last mentioned, is clearly implied by the presence of the Hebrew article in the renewed allusion to them; a circumstance of distinction required by the necessity of the case in a *renewed* allusion, and injudiciously omitted by our own Bible version, though retained by Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, in theirs: And after THE threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off.

The first thing, that we may have to observe upon this proposition is, that the verb which is here rendered by our own version, *cut off*—by the Septuagint, ἀποσταθήσεται, by Theodotion, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται, by Aquila, the same, by Symmachus, ἐκκοπήσεται, by the Vulgate or Jerome, *occidetur*—in the Hebrew is כרת: and one of the senses of this word in the Hebrew, in the opinion of writers upon that language, is to express cutting off, more particularly, by the forms of law, and in the execution of a judicial sentence; especially that kind of cutting off, and that species of judicial or penal severity, which we should understand by the technical sense of excommunication: the formal abscission, detachment, or cutting off, howsoever made, of one member of a certain community, from the body of the rest, and from all the privileges, civil or religious, which attach to the relation of members of that community, and are the right of all such as belong to it; but of them alone*.

If this be the case, the cutting off of Messiah, specially mentioned in this instance, does as plainly point to

* This proper sense of the word כרת, appears most plainly in that form of words which is of such frequent occurrence in the Pentateuch, with respect to breaches of the Divine law, amounting to a wilful act of separation from the privileges of the covenant between God and his people, and requiring to be treated and resented accordingly: "That soul shall be cut off from his people:" the first use of which is Genesis xvii. 14. with respect to the consequences of the wilful neglect of the ordinance of circumcision: "That soul shall be cut off (ונכרתה) from his people: he hath broken

my covenant." Cf. Exodus xii. 15. 19; Leviticus vii. 20, 21; xvii. 14; xx. 17: Numbers xix. 13. 20, &c. The proper and primary sense of the word is to cut off—as for instance, one part of a larger substance from the rest, a limb from the body, a piece from a garment, a branch from a tree, or the like. The sense of to cut off, by an act of formal rejection and separation, to excommunicate one member of a community from the body of the rest, with its consequences to him, is the simplest of all possible gradations from such a primary meaning as that.

his death and his passion, as Messiah, Leader or Prince, alluded to before, to his coming, appearance, and *παρουσία*: yet not simply to his death and his passion, considered merely in the matter of fact, or as an event in his history, the last in the order of occurrence, as his coming and appearance was the first—but to his death and his passion as preceded by his Rejection, and as the consequence of that Rejection itself. The death and passion of Messiah would not have been expressed by so peculiar a term, as it is, if more were not implied in it than the fact itself; if the very fact of his death and passion, as so described and designated, *virtute termini* did not imply, and did not amount to, the fact of his formal abscission, or being cut off from the body of which he was a member; his virtual excommunication from the rest of his own people, and consequently his formal renunciation and rejection on the part of the Jews. Now this formal rejection and renunciation of Messiah on the part of the Jews, was absolutely necessary to his death and passion: and this rejection and renunciation of one individual Jew, by the rest, supposing it to be general on their part, would clearly amount to his abscission, or excommunication, from his own community—and therefore to such an act, the subject whereof should be this one, and the agents the rest of the body to which he belonged, as would properly be described by the Hebrew כרת. It is that preliminary to the final consummation of his personal history by an ignominious and cruel death, at the hands of the public executioner, the necessity of which was recognised by our Saviour himself, when he said of the Son of man, Προῦτον δὲ δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν, καὶ ἈΠΟΔΟΚΙΜΑΣΘΗΝΑΙ ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης ^a: and it found its fulfilment on the part of the infidel Jews,

^a Luke xvii. 25.

when the WHOLE multitude of them arose, and led him away to Pilate ^b; and when they exclaimed with one voice, in answer to the repeated attempts of the judge to liberate the prisoner whom they had denounced before him as a criminal, and unworthy to live, Away with him, Away with him; Not this man, but Barabbas ^c.

The same fact in the history of Messiah, and the same special circumstance in the constructive tendency, and implied description, of the fact, appear to me to be plainly intimated in the words which complete this sentence, and are expressed in the Hebrew by לו ואין. These remarkable words, which, simple as they appear in themselves, do in reality constitute one of the most difficult parts of the prophecy, the Septuagint has rendered by, Καὶ οὐκ ἔσται: Aquila by, Καὶ οὐκ ἔσταιν αὐτῷ: Symmachus by, Καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξει αὐτῷ: the Vulgate by, Et non erit ejus populus: Jerome by, Et non erit ejus: the Syriac by, Et non erit penes ipsam: our own Translation by, But not for himself: Theodotion by, Καὶ κρίμα οὐκ ἔσταιν ἐν αὐτῷ*.

* If this version of Theodotion's in particular, were justly deducible from the Hebrew text; it would recommend itself as the best calculated to express the essential innocence and purity of Messiah's character, notwithstanding his suffering as a malefactor, at the time of his death. It might have expressed the same truth, in fact, which our Saviour intended to convey, when in reference to the same event of his suffering as a criminal and a malefactor, notwithstanding the sinless purity of his character, he said at John xiv. 30: For the Prince of this world

cometh, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν: words, which enunciated in Hebrew would perhaps have exhibited a remarkable resemblance to these in Daniel, לו בי. We cannot undertake to say too confidently that these two words in Daniel, might not have been understood with the ellipsis of κρίμα, or something answerable to it; especially as following the judicial term denoting the cutting off in question; for the opposition would be obvious, between Messiah's being judicially and formally cut off—and yet having done nothing amiss. The very words לו בי under such cir-

^b Luke xxiii. 1.

^c Luke xxiii. 18: John xviii. 40.

Among these various versions, our own, perhaps, is the most objectionable, principally because it leads to the inference that the doctrine of the atonement is involved in these words; that is, that the final end of the Messiah's death and passion, as not for himself but for others, is declared by them. The doctrine of the atonement, that is, the virtue supposed to attach to the death of Messiah, with reference to sacrifice for sin, will be found to be specially concerned and stated in a distinct part of the prophecy, yet to come: which will render it very improbable that it should have been considered or stated before. But the idea of the excommunication of one member of a certain body by, or from, the rest, being so clearly implied in the verb made use of to express the death and passion of Messiah, described as his being cut off; it points equally clearly, by the same peculiarity of its meaning, to the fact of his rejection by the Jews, as the immediate cause of his death. The rejection of Messiah, after his appearance, and by the very people to whom he was to come, and among whom he was to appear, as Messiah, was a fact as important to the truth of his history, (if not more so,) as his advent itself: and if the latter was to be specified as destined to precede, it was only to be expected that the former should be specified as destined to follow. Without presupposing the fact of his rejection, as involved in the event of his being cut off; that is, without supposing his death to

cumstances might seem to carry with them, by virtue of the context, the specific limitation of having *nothing*, in the sense of having *no fault*, or *crime*. Messiah shall be cut off, that is, Messiah shall suffer as a criminal; nay more, as the greatest of

criminals, for none else could be the subject of such a punishment as would be implied by his being cut off.—And nothing unto him—that is, And no crime in him. He shall be cut off, as the greatest of criminals, and crime in him shall be none.

be the consequence of his rejection itself; the connection between this topic, and the next treated of in direct continuity after it, the destruction of the city and the sanctuary by the people of the prince or leader to come, would be inexplicable; but with this supposition, it is perfectly consistent and natural: for the ultimate destruction of the infidel Jews, was not the consequence of their having put our Lord to death, before he was preached to them as a crucified Saviour, but of their rejecting him before his death, and their refusing to believe in him afterwards. It was their rejecting of him before his passion, and then persisting in that rejection ever after, which led to their own ultimate destruction.

The marginal correction of the Bible text version, in this instance, And shall have nothing, instead of, But not for himself—comes nearer to the sense of the original, though it may not exactly express it. The Hebrew particle, *וְאֵין*, is alike capable of being rendered by *non*, or *nihil*, or *nemo*; with the ellipsis of *est*, or any other tense of the substantive verb: and when so used it properly requires to be followed by a particle serving to the dative case, (like the substantive verb in Greek or Latin, when it denotes possession by, or belonging to, a certain subject,) as in this instance it is followed by *לוֹ*. The Bible text version, therefore, would be objectionable not only for the reason last mentioned, but because it renders the *vau*, at the head of the clause, adversatively, by *but*—when it should rather have been rendered simply by *and*; and because it gives a new dependence to the *לוֹ*, making it refer to the being cut off; whereas its proper grammatical reference and dependence is *to* and *upon* the *וְאֵין*; but to *וְאֵין* understood in the sense of *nihil* or *nemo*, rather than *non*—*nothing*, or *no one*, ra-

ther than *not*. On this account, neither the marginal version, And shall have nothing, nor that of Aquila, Καὶ οὐκ ἔσται αὐτῷ, nor that of Symmachus, Καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξει αὐτῷ—nor Jerome's, Et non erit ejus : is to be entirely approved of, in comparison of the literal meaning of the words, which is, And none unto him—with the ellipsis of, *shall be*, rather than of *is*. Taken in conjunction with the context, which speaks of Messiah's being cut off, in the specific capacity of one renounced, repudiated, rejected—and carrying on the same train of ideas, these words will naturally express the necessary effect of that rejection—universal as it was—that none *was* unto him ; and none was for him : that he was rejected and repudiated, as Messiah, by the body of the nation in general, and at the particular juncture of his death and passion, was abandoned even and denied by those, who until then had been his friends and followers. Foreseeing this abandonment even on their part, he told his disciples not long before it happened, An hour is coming, and now is come, that ye should be scattered every man unto his own, and should leave me alone ^d : and foreseeing this denial, he thrice told St. Peter, in the course of the same evening—Verily I say unto thee, that to-day, in this night, before the cock have crowed twice, thou shalt deny me thrice ^e : and the moment when he was thus left alone, with none but the Father to be present with him still, and to be his support and dependence in the yet severer trial which awaited him, was that point of time, in the history of his apprehension in the garden, When ALL the disciples forsook him and fled ^f. With reason, then, might it be specified among the other circumstances of Messiah's death and passion, and as not the least characteristic of all, that After

^d John xvi. 32.^e Mark xiv. 30.^f Matt. xxvi. 56.

the threescore and two weeks should Messiah be cut off, and no one unto him : so entirely cut off—so completely detached, by the nature of his death itself, from all communion of sympathy whether of friend or of foe, that none should be *with* him—none should be *for* him—no one, in a word, at that moment should be *his*.

Be this, however, as it may : the death and passion of Messiah being as plainly declared in this part of the prophecy, as the coming and appearance in the former ; one of the most obvious conclusions, suggested by the prophecy beforehand, would be, That unless it was always intended that the death and passion of Messiah, and his coming and appearing in that capacity, were to be strictly synchronous events ; it never could be intended that both were to happen at one and the same point of time ; it would be absolutely impossible, in the nature of things, that they should. Now we may take it for granted that this never could have been intended. For we may take it for granted that Messiah could never be expected to appear in his proper capacity, and not be expected to act in that character, after he appeared in it, also : Messiah could never be expected to have a public appearing, and not to have a public ministry : Messiah could never be expected to appear as Messiah, at a stated time, and not to live and act as Messiah, for some length of time, more or less, after it likewise.

When, therefore, we find both the coming and appearing of Messiah, *before* he came, and the cutting off of Messiah, *when* he was come, placed in the same relative order upon a specified interval of time, supposed to be previously transacted ; the necessity of the case must teach us, that with respect to the exact position of each with reference to the pretransacted inter-

val in question, the language of the prophecy is *strictly* to be taken into account. The language of the prophecy, in defining the order of these events, and of both as referred to one and the same interval of time elapsed before them, is not the same; and the perceptible difference of its terms in speaking of each is not insignificant or unimportant. From the going forth of the word *to* Messiah the Prince—there should be seven weeks, and sixty and two weeks: which left no alternative but to conclude that *at* the end of these last sixty-two weeks, Messiah must appear, or the prophecy would so far be false. But *after* the sixty and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off—these are the terms in which it speaks of the next event: and between *up to* a given time, and *after* a given time, it is obvious to remark, the difference may be wide indeed. *Up to* a given time, and *after* a given time, however closely they may confine on each other—can never denote precisely the same actual instant of time; because the one is a part of the future, and the other a part of the past; and the same moment of time can never be both future and past. Now *up to* a certain time, we know, must denote an instant or point of time: and *after* a certain time—may denote a point or an instant of time, also, it is true; but it may likewise denote a period or course of time—an integral part of duration—so far from a point or an instant, as to be absolutely of indefinite extent. An event might be said to occur *after* a given point of time, which happened any length of time after it; just as much as another which happened the very next moment: and it would be equally true of Messiah that he was cut off *after* the sixty and two weeks, whether he were cut off the very next moment that they came to an end—or after an interval of one year, or two years, or three years, or any number of

years, however long in itself, the beginning of which was only later than the close of the sixty and two weeks in particular.

When, therefore, the prophecy itself suggests the expectation of the coming and appearance of Messiah necessarily, at the end of the sixty and two weeks; but that of the cutting off of Messiah, when come, not necessarily at the end of the same period—only after it; and when the reason of the thing alone must suffice to convince us that the coming and appearance of the person intended as Messiah must always have been meant to be followed by his continuing to be present and to appear, for a longer or a shorter time, in his proper capacity as Messiah: we could not help concluding beforehand that some interval there would be, and some interval it must always have been intended there should be, between that event which is specified as *unto* Messiah, Leader or Prince, and that which is described as Messiah's being cut off: and that the language of the prophecy, with respect to each, in determining the relative order of both upon one and the same succession of pretransacted time, is *strictly* to be taken into account. And though the prophecy might specify no such interval itself—at least apparently—nor consequently determine its length—yet if it necessarily presupposed it; that would be sufficient for our purpose. In every scheme of the interpretation of the Weeks, an allowance must be made for the interposition of some such an interval as must be devoted to the transaction of the Public Ministry of the Messiah; and in that precise place where the prophecy itself has suggested it; viz. between the first appearing and the final cutting off of one and the same person, whom it denominates Messiah, or Leader or Prince.

With respect to the third of the particulars in this

class of events, the confirmation of the covenant with many—the place of this event, in the order of the prophecy, must be presumptively a proof, that whatever may be meant by the confirming the covenant in question, yet if it was something *posterior* to the cutting off of Messiah at least, it could be nothing that was destined to happen *before* his coming and appearance—nothing that should find its effect in the course of his ministry, subsequent to that event—nothing in short that could possibly precede the moment of his death and passion. And hence would be derived a strong objection to the accuracy of the Bible version, in this instance as well as in others: And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week—where an exception might lie to the introduction of the article before the word *covenant*—and the insertion of *for* between many and one week: both of them being absent in the Hebrew. The whole of this version, however, appears to have originated in a mistake—and certainly is well calculated to perpetuate that mistake—viz. that the confirming the covenant in question was the work of the Messiah himself, and transacted in the course of his personal ministry—which, on that principle, must have consisted in some sense or other of one entire week of years.

The version of Theodotion is competent to satisfy us that these same words admit of a different rendering; and that, too, obviously more literal in reference to the original: Καὶ δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἑβδομας μίᾱ: And one week shall confirm a covenant for many—to which no such objections would lie. In explanation of this version, it is necessary only to premise, first, that the word which is rendered by δυναμώσει, or to confirm, is properly to make potent, make mighty, make prevalent or strong: and as to the

word which is rendered by *covenant*, and the absence of the article in the allusion to it—though commentators may have taken it for granted, and though it may be an obvious conjecture at first sight, that the covenant intended is either the covenant made with Abraham, or the covenant made with Moses, and each as confirmed or fulfilled in the gospel; I should think it a fatal objection to either of these constructions of its meaning, that it wants the article before it: for an allusion to so well known a thing as the covenant of grace with Abraham, or the covenant of works at Horeb, would of necessity have required the article—especially when alluded to indefinitely. And we shall see by and by—that there is no necessity to understand it of either of these covenants in particular; and yet it may be true that a covenant was confirmed or made potent for many, and confirmed or made potent for the specified time in question, notwithstanding.

For, in the next place, that the preaching and accepting of formal Christianity may be strictly understood of the proposing and ratifying of a covenant; that the gospel overture was truly a covenant overture—which was tendered on stipulated terms, and must be acceded to on stipulated terms—may be taken for granted, as too obvious to admit of dispute. And if the confirming of a covenant for many, in any sense, referred to its place in the order of the prophecy, can so far be understood of nothing in the history of Christianity anterior to the death and passion of our Saviour himself; that no such covenant as the gospel overture either did, or in the nature of things could, begin to be promulgated, and much more confirmed and ratified, before his death and resurrection; that formal Christianity was never preached by *his* means, nor ever constituted the proper work of *his*

ministry ; that it was reserved for the ministry of the apostles, and began neither earlier nor later than the day of Pentecost, next after the ascension—may also be taken for granted, however much commentators may have shut their eyes to these truths, and to their natural consequences, particularly with reference to the right understanding and construction of this part of the prophecy, more especially.

Again, that by the confirming a covenant for many, understood of the acceptance and ratification of the terms of the gospel overture, in behalf of the proper parties—must be intended, the confirming of such a covenant, and consequently the acceptance and ratification of the terms of the gospel overture, first and properly in behalf of the Jews, may also be taken for granted : and, therefore, if the covenant, so to be confirmed, was to be confirmed for one week, and for neither more nor less than one week ; then that formal Christianity was to be preached to the Jews, for one week, and for neither more nor less than one week, would seem to follow, by necessary inference, from that fact.

Among the other anticipations of its own meaning, then, suggested by the prophecy beforehand, one would appear to be this ; That formal Christianity beginning to be preached to the Jews, not before, but as soon after the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, as we please, should continue to be preached to them for one week, and for one week only. Are we, then, to understand, it might be immediately demanded, that at the end of this one week, Christianity was to cease to be preached to the Jews ? Such a conclusion, we might reply, would be very contrary to the actual matter of fact from that time to this ; if it be true, at least, that Christianity has never ceased to be preach-

ed, in some sense or other, to the Jews, from the moment it began to be so: though hitherto without effect. But in what sense, then, it may next be demanded, could it possibly be true that the confirming a covenant, if meant of the gospel overture, should be made for one week, for many, understood of the Jews, and for one week only? In a sense, we may reply, perfectly consistent both with the matter of fact, and with the spirit of the prophecy also; if it be only admitted, that to preach Christianity to the Jews exclusively, was to confirm the gospel covenant with them in *one* manner, and to preach Christianity to them no longer exclusively, was to confirm the same covenant with them in *another*; and that the prophecy means the former and not the latter, when it speaks of confirming a covenant for many for one week, and one week only.

The question, which we should have to discuss, under these circumstances, would be simply reducible to this; Whether there was reason to believe that the preaching of formal Christianity having once begun, at the day of Pentecost next after the ascension of our Lord into heaven—the option of embracing the gospel, with all its inestimable privileges present or to come, was confined for a time to the Jews, and at the end of that time was not: and whether this time was exactly one week of years, or more or less than that, in length? If it should turn out, in answer to these inquiries, that for seven years' time, bearing date from the first promulgation of the gospel, the preaching of Christ crucified was actually confined to the Jews; that for seven years of time the parties admitted into the Christian covenant consisted exclusively of Jews—the members of the church of Christ on earth were composed of none but Jews: every one, I think, must

allow that this fact will be competent to answer the description of the prophecy beforehand, the confirming or ratifying, making strong or potent, a covenant for many for one week : and if it should turn out to be the case that, at the end of the seven years in question, neither of these things was any longer true ; that the gospel overture had begun to be made to others, and to be accepted by others, besides the Jews, and the parties in the Christian covenant and the members of the Christian church to consist of others, as well as the Jews ; it will also follow that the covenant in question was not only made strong for many for one week, but for neither more nor less than one week *.

* With respect to the matter of fact involved in this part of the prophecy, it is not more certain that the gospel was preached at all, than that it was preached first to the Jews ; and it is not more certain that it was preached first to the Jews, than that it was confined for a time to them. No commentator on the Acts of the Apostles would be bold enough to maintain that the gospel was ever preached to the Gentiles, before the conversion of Cornelius, or to the Samaritans before the martyrdom of Stephen : and no commentator on the same history, I should think, would venture to place the conversion of Cornelius before the martyrdom of Stephen. But if there was a time when the gospel was neither preached as yet to Gentiles, nor even to Samaritans, and yet was preaching all the while—to whom could it be preached all the while except to the Jews—and to the Jews alone ?

But the Jews were of two

classes—the Jews of the mother country, and the Jews of the Dispersion, under whom we may include the Proselytes from the Gentiles also ; such at least as went by the name of Proselytes of Righteousness, in opposition to Proselytes of the Gate. Was the gospel, then, while preached exclusively to the Jews, preached to both these classes, or to one of them exclusive of the other ? My answer is, it was preached to both ; both being alike children of the stock of Abraham, and both alike to be included under the name of Jews.

Was it preached, then, to the Jews of the Dispersion, as well as to the native Jews, exclusively ? and if so, in their own country ? The answer to this question involves a distinction, of great importance to the right understanding of the apostolical history, but one, of which commentators upon that history have unfortunately lost sight, almost without exception ; and that is,

The next of the events of the class, to which we have given the name of the facts of the Christian

that for the time the gospel was confined exclusively to the Jews, so far from being preached out of Judæa, it was never even preached, as far as we know or can venture to say, out of the precincts of Jerusalem. It was preached to all, without exception, both Jews of the mother country and Jews of the Dispersion, who were to be found there, either at all times—as among the usual inhabitants of the city—or at stated times, as, for instance, the times of the attendance at the feasts: and I have long seen reason to conclude that, while that state of things lasted, all, whether native Jews or Jews of the Dispersion, who became converts to the gospel *at* Jerusalem, even though previously not inhabitants of the place, became members of the church there, and were enrolled in that community with the rest.

This state of things continued until the persecution, begun and signalized by the death of the protomartyr Stephen: the consequence of which was, that the members of the church at Jerusalem were first dispersed and scattered abroad, *all*, it is said, but the apostles. We know the effect of that dispersion: that they who were scattered abroad upon that occasion, went every where, preaching the gospel; but with a distinction in the kind and description of persons, to whom they preached it, which though plainly implied in the Acts of the Apostles themselves, has in this instance also been totally overlooked by com-

mentators; viz. to native Jews and Samaritans, within the mother country, but to native Jews alone, in opposition to Hellenists or Jews of the Dispersion, out of the mother country.

This state of things also continued until the time of the conversion of Cornelius, within the mother country; at which time, but not before, it appears from the Acts of the Apostles, the gospel began to be preached by some of those who had been dispersed from Jerusalem by the persecution, to the Jews of the Dispersion, as well as to the Jews of Judæa, out of the mother country. These evangelists were the men of Phœnice, Cyprus, and Antioch—and the Jews of the Dispersion, to whom they began to preach, under these new circumstances first, were the Jews of Antioch.

This state of things, too, in the church continued for some time longer; during which the gospel was being preached to native Jews of Judæa, to Jews of the Dispersion, both in Judæa and out of Judæa, to Samaritans, to Gentiles, Proselytes of the Gate, like Cornelius, living within Judæa, simultaneously—but not as yet to the Gentiles, even those who were Proselytes of the Gate, as far as we know—much less to the Gentiles, whether proselytes of any description or not—out of Judæa. At length, with the formal commission of Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles, the gospel was thrown open indiscriminately, and the finishing hand was put

ministry, that remains to be considered, follows next in the order of the prophecy also, under the name of the Cessation of Sacrifice and Oblation. Here, likewise, our English Bible text version, which is to this effect; “And in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease;” appears to me to be objectionable, not only because it supplies the article before these two words, which are without it in the Hebrew; but because it may justly be considered to labour under a similar mistake, or to be calculated at least to perpetuate the same kind of mistake, as the last considered version: viz. that the week intended in this instance is the week just mentioned; and that week, as before, is the period taken up in some man-

to the work of its complete promulgation. From that time forward, there has been no change in the state of things. One and the same gospel has been preached, in one and the same manner, to every description of moral and responsible beings, bearing the form, and subject to the obligations of man, under the sun.

That the above is a just representation of the actual course of events, from the first beginning to the last completion of this great work—I am prepared to maintain: and in fact I have maintained, and as I hope proved, elsewhere; which is my reason for referring summarily to it at present. If such be the case, it is evident from it that in the work of propagating the gospel, that is, confirming a covenant—so far as the promulgation and reception of the gospel overture amounted to that—one rule was observed; the rule of exclusion at first, but of gradual expansion afterwards,

among the subjects of its comprehension. There was a time when it excluded all but native Jews of Judæa, or Jews of the Dispersion, out of Jerusalem: there was a time when it excluded all but Samaritans, within Judæa, and native Jews, out of Judæa: there was a time when it excluded all but Gentile Proselytes of the Gate, within Judæa, and all but Jews of the Dispersion, out of Judæa. At last, but not till the last, did it begin to include Gentiles of every description, whether proselytes or not, both in Judæa and out of Judæa. Exclusiveness, we see, then, was the rule at first; but exclusiveness followed by inclusiveness; and exclusiveness gradually relaxed, before that inclusiveness became indiscriminate. And the times of these several stages were as determinate as the stages themselves. The first took up seven years: the remaining two each took up half as much.

ner or other by the duration of our Saviour's personal ministry.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that the article stands in the Hebrew before the word which is rendered by *week*; and it must be admitted that, *prima facie*, with the article before this word in the second instance, there does seem to be a reference to the same word, last mentioned in the former. "He shall confirm the covenant with many for *one week*: and in the midst of *the week* he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease." In the midst of what week, it might be asked? In the midst of the week just mentioned, might naturally seem to be the reply.

Now, I will not answer this objection, by retorting that, though the article stands before the word rendered by *week*, it does not stand before the word translated *midst*; and yet, if a reference had been specially intended to the middle part of the week just mentioned, then the article must have been required before the word *midst*, as much as before the word *week*. Nor will I object that, if the Bible version did right to retain the article before the word *week*, because it stood there in the original; it did wrong to insert it before the word *midst*, where it was wanting in the Hebrew text. I shall enter upon this question more at large, and endeavour to ascertain the true sense of the prophecy in this instance, by investigating the kind of expressions made use of to convey its meaning, on the principles of reason and of the nature of things, as well as of etymology and grammatical propriety.

It is to be observed, therefore, first of all, that the proper meaning of the word, rendered by *midst*, מִצְּרֵי, in the Hebrew is *dimidia pars*: an half, or an half

portion of any thing that admits of division *. It is directly derived from a verb, denoting to divide or cut in two. Now nothing admitting of division, but what is made up of parts, that is, quantity either discrete or continuous; and time or duration being one of those things that are made up of parts, and belong to the genus of quantity; time or duration admits of division, and therefore time or duration is a proper subject of that act which in the Hebrew is expressed by חצה to divide, or bisect, *incidit*, or *dimidiavit*. But when time, or duration of a limited magnitude, is the subject of this act—then the proper sense of חצי the resulting effect being taken into account; it can never be rendered by *midst*. For midst is a point or an instant, but חצי is an half, or half-portion: and the midst of a week, either in the language of the prophecy or in any language—could never denote any thing but that indi-

* If this word חצי has the power of denoting the middle point or midst of a thing, it must be only as derived from its proper and primary signification of an half of a thing; and because the very act of dividing a thing into two halves, ascertains the middle point of the whole, which is exactly the point where its halves confine. I am surprised, therefore, to find Gesenius stating the sense of *middle* or *midst*, as the primary sense of this word, and that of *half* or *dimidium*, as the secondary—when the reverse is so obviously the case. I am also surprised to find him referring to Judges xvi. 3. in illustration of that sense, where the words of the text so plainly admit of being rendered agreeably to the other

sense, for which we are contending as primary: And Samson lay *until half of the night*—and rose *in half of the night*, &c. If this mode of speaking denotes midnight, as the point of time until which he lay, and at which he arose, (as it certainly does,) it is only κατὰ συμβεβηκός, and for the reason already mentioned—that if you divide the night into two equal portions—you ascertain the point of midnight, as the exact point where the one of these divisions ends and the other begins.

The Septuagint has rendered the word by ἐν τῷ τέλει—and therefore took it for a point of time. Theodotion translates it by ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει—and therefore considers it to denote a period.

vidual point or instant of the whole, which was equidistant from both its extremes: but in the Hebrew language *חצי שבוע*, an half portion of a week, is the half of its whole duration—one of the two equal portions into which it admits of being divided.

If this be the case, the natural sense of the Hebrew, in the present instance, would seem to be, “And an half portion of the week shall produce such and such an effect.” Why then, it may be asked, does the article stand before week? and why was not the proposition expressed, And an half portion of *a* week, shall produce the effect in question? which would seem to be the natural mode of defining a period of duration, amounting to half a week—if nothing more was intended by it.

In answer to this objection, we might reply that in Hebrew, as well as in Greek, the article is sometimes redundant, and sometimes defective: and in rendering from that language into our own, there might be occasions in which it would require to be omitted, and others, in which it would be necessary to supply it. But independent of this explanation, the presence of the article may be accounted for, in this particular instance, from the reason of things, and *virtute termini* or *virtute materiæ*, to which, and in which, it is applied; and nothing more.

שבוע, the word which has been used all through this prophecy, is properly *ἑβδομάς*, or *septimana*, or *week*; that is, a seven days' period of time: but *ἑβδομάς*, *septimana*, or *week*, in the sense of a seven days' period of time, is not the sense in which it has been used all through the same. Might we take the liberty of inventing a term, in our own language, which should express both the proper sense of the Hebrew word, as denoting a seven days' period of time, and the sense in

which it has been used all through the prophecy, as a seven years' period of time; that word would be week-year: or seven-day-year. And when the word *week* and consequently the notion of a period of sevens of some kind—is not used in the ordinary sense of a period of sevens of days, but in this extraordinary one of a period of sevens of years; when it does not stand in the general acceptation of a seven days' time, but in the specific one of a seven years' time; whatever be the word employed to express it, the thing described by it is special and definite *virtute materiæ*; the allusion, under such circumstances, becomes special and restricted, *virtute termini*: and it is agreeable both to the reason of things and to the doctrine of the article, whether in Hebrew or in any other language, that it should carry the article along with it. The proper version of the words, וְחֲצִי הַשָּׁבִיעַ, under such circumstances would be, And an half portion of the week-year, or the seven-day-year, shall produce such and such an effect: under which form of speaking, no one would suspect an allusion to any period of seven years mentioned just before, or to any thing beyond the idea of such a week-year, or seven-day-year itself, as sufficiently determinate and definite, *virtute materiæ*, or *virtute termini*, to admit of that allusion absolutely*.

* Should it be demanded, in objection to this explanation, that if the word in question requires the article or admits of it, *virtute termini*, or *virtute materiæ*, alone; why is it found without the article in preceding parts of the prophecy, though used in the same sense all through, and that a sense so different from its common meaning? I answer, that it could not in these instances of its occur-

rence admit of the article, because it is mentioned there, and in every instance but one, mentioned absolutely, in conjunction with a noun of number. The noun of number in such cases supersedes the article, or at least dispenses with it. Thus it stands without the article at the head of the prophecy, שְׁבַע שָׁנִים: the propriety of which will appear, substitute what version we please for the proper

This difficulty, therefore, being removed, and there being no longer reason to suppose a reference intended to any one week of this description more than another; we shall be justified in treating the thing predicted as an independent event, not yet noticed, and altogether distinct from every thing that may have preceded. The general sense of the first part of the proposition will be faithfully expressed, by rendering the original, And an half portion of the seven day year shall put to rest, זבח ומנחה: and by putting these two things to rest, in the literal sense, we may take it for granted that causing them to cease, is intended. But with respect to these two things themselves, that is, with respect to the two words which follow in the original, and conclude the sentence, the received translation has rendered them by *sacrifice* and *oblation*. To the first of these versions, I have nothing to object; but as to the second, it may justly be matter of surprise that, whatever be the proper sense of מנחה, and whether that proper sense be *oblatio* or *munus*, or not, our translators should have preferred to render it in this instance by *oblation*, when in a great majority of

meaning of the second of these terms: Seventy seven-day-years, are determined, &c. It stands without the article in the next instance, and with equal propriety, Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment...to Messiah the Prince, shall be שבעים שבועה, Seven-day-years seven, and שבעים ושנים, and Seven-day-years sixty and two. But it stands with the article directly after, because that is in reference to the last of these numbers just mentioned: And after השבעים ושנים, The

seven-day-years sixty and two. It wants the article in the next allusion, for the same reason as before: And a covenant for many shall confirm אדור, A seven-day-year one. And it has the article in the last instance of all, because it is mentioned absolutely, without any designation of number, yet as specific and definite, when so mentioned, *virtute termini*, or *virtute materiæ* itself. חצי השבוע—And an half portion of the seven-day-year—shall produce such and such an effect.

instances elsewhere they have invariably rendered the same word by a different term, *meat-offering*. The notion of oblation or gift includes that of sacrifice, as one of the species of gifts or offerings, which may be denoted by the term; and to render this word, in conjunction with sacrifice, by *gift* or *oblation*, would necessarily lead to the inference that the one was synonymous with the other, and the one was intended merely as explanatory of the other. It would be a great objection to the truth of this inference, that in that case, the prophecy would have been liable to the charge of explaining a definite term by an indefinite, or a specific idea by a general—which is contrary to the natural order of thought, and the proper use of terms in such instances. The reason of the thing must teach us that the second of these terms, under such circumstances, can never be explanatory of the first; and therefore cannot have here its proper sense of oblation: and that if these two things are coupled together, both as the common subjects of the making to cease, which is declared to be the work of an half portion of the week—something must have been intended by them distinct *in specie*, though possibly the same *in genere*.

Nor would it be difficult to discover what this must be. The version of Theodotion may convince us that something more specific must have been intended by מנחה, especially in conjunction with זבח, than *munus* or *oblatio*; for it has rendered the former by σπονδή, and the latter by θυσία, and the Septuagint has done the same*. A critical consideration of these terms,

* Not that σπονδή is the proper sense of מנחה notwithstanding. The word that answers in Hebrew to σπονδή in Greek, or libamen, is נסך. We have them both brought together in Joel ii. 14: Who knoweth if he will

return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him; even a meat-offering and a drink-offering unto the LORD your God? In the Hebrew it is, מנחה ונסך, *munus et libamen*. Cf. Isaiah lvii. 6.

and of the use which is made of them, will shew, that under both together must be comprised all the kinds and varieties of offerings that were made, or required to be made, under the Law ; both those which were accompanied with the shedding of blood, and those which were not ; the former consequently including every description of animal sacrifice, and the latter every description of vegetable. זבח, the first of these terms, is the general term for any sort of legal sacrifice that was merely accompanied by the shedding of blood—or the taking away the life of a victim—whatever was done with the body of it afterwards, whether entirely consumed on the altar, or in part on the altar, and in part by the ministering priests, or in conjunction with the worshipper. Whatsoever could strictly be called *θυσία* or *mactatio*—that is, the sacrifice of a life as such ; by whatever name it might be called and distinguished in particular instances, with reference principally to the disposal of the victim—whether עולה, or burnt-offering, or חטאת, or sin-offering ; or אשם, or trespass-offering, or שלמים or זבח שלמים, or peace-offering—all were זבחים or *θυσίαι*, in the general sense of the word, alike. מנחה on the other hand is the special designation for that one kind of oblation, that consisted of a certain portion of flour, and oil, and frankincense, mingled together, to which our Bible translation of the Old Testament commonly gives the name of meat-offering : a definite amount of which was appointed to accompany every sacrifice that was offered on the altar, and attended with the shedding of blood.

In the most general sense of the terms, then, the conjunction of two such remarkable words as זבח and מנחה, would obviously comprehend every description of offering, animal and vegetable, properly so called,

that was required or was made under the Law *. But in the more specific and more restricted sense of the words, as applying to any one description of animal or vegetable sacrifice preeminently, more than another, they are competent to denote that *one* instance of animal sacrifice, accompanied with its proper meat-offering, that is, that *one* sort of זבח and מנחה in conjunction, which was the most stated and regular, and therefore the most characteristic of the Levitical ritual, of all—viz. the ἐνδελεχὴς θυσία, the daily offering of morning and evening, throughout the year. And in one of these senses, we may confidently undertake to pronounce, the words must have been intended in the present instance: nor would it make much difference, with respect to the thing predicted, the cessation of sacrifice and meat-offering both, which we might suppose to be meant. Sacrifice and meat-offering, in their most comprehensive sense, must include every description of each, that of morning and evening among the rest; and the cessation of sacrifice and meat-offering, even if first and properly intended of the cessation of the sacrifice and meat-offering of morning and evening more particularly—must involve in its consequences the cessation of all the rest. For let us consider what these consequences must be—whatever the subject of the cessation may be—whether sacrifice and meat-offering in their most general, or in their most special sense. If sacrifice and meat-offering—whether of one kind or another, if it was only a stated and regular part of a stated and regular service—had been made to cease; the use of the altar was superseded. If the use of the altar had been superseded, the service of the minister-

* As they do, in that well known text of Psalm xl. 7, also; which ought by all means to be compared with this of Daniel.

ing priest was at an end. If the service of the ministering priest was at an end, the Levitical ritual had expired—and the Levitical priesthood was no more.

Now an event of such magnitude as this, an event so pregnant with consequences to the existing order of things, the temple and the temple service, the altar and the ministering priest—whatever it might be—was evidently worthy of a place among the other futurities disclosed by this prophecy, with a special reference to the people of Daniel, and to the holy city of Daniel more particularly. And this event is described in the prophecy as the Putting to rest of sacrifice and meat-offering; and this putting to rest as the work or effect of an half portion of the seven-day-year. That such an event, then, as the cessation of sacrifice and meat-offering, with all its consequences, was to be expected as the effect of that period of time denoted by an half portion of the seven-day-year, that is, of a certain three years and an half of time, was assuredly to be gathered from this prophecy: but whether the event itself was to take place at the beginning of this portion, or at the end of this portion, or at the middle of this portion, was not to be gathered from the prophecy;—for it is left indefinite—and all that is declared on the subject is, that it should be the work, in some manner or other, of an half portion of a week of years, but no more. If it took up more time to effect this work, than an half portion of a week of years, the prophecy would so far be falsified by the event; and if it took up less, the result would be the same: but if the work was actually brought to pass, no matter in what manner, within that time, and in neither more nor less than that; the prophecy would turn out to be true. Under these circumstances, then, it will be perfectly consistent with the language of the prophecy, as well as with any ex-

pectation which we could reasonably form of the event beforehand, if it should turn out that the *whole* of this period was preparatory to that *one* effect, the cessation of sacrifice and meat-offering, and that *one* effect itself was consummated at the end of *all*. Indeed, upon one supposition, which every one might admit to be reasonable, viz. that this causing of sacrifice and meat-offering to cease, whatever it might be, was yet one definite thing in itself, and accomplished by one specific instance of performance—we might venture to pronounce beforehand that such an act or effect could never be described or understood of the destined effect of a period and lapse of time, consistently with reason and common sense, except as the *whole* of that period or lapse of time was designed to be preparatory to this *one* effect, and this *one* effect to result at the end of *all*.

Now who will deny that to make sacrifice and meat-offering to cease—that is, to supersede all the sacrifices and offerings of the law, by the one great sacrifice of himself—was the final end and purpose of our Saviour's death? and that the cessation of sacrifice and meat-offering accordingly, because of the one great virtue attaching to the sacrifice of himself, was the effect of his death? And who will deny that to prepare the way for the event of his death, was the final end and purpose of his personal ministry, from the time that he entered upon it, to the time that it closed by his death itself? Who will deny that as he was pointed out by John Baptist, at the very outset of his ministry, in the special capacity of the Lamb of God, that carried the sin of the world^r, so he offered up himself at last in the same capacity, as the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world^s; and spent the intermediate time, the period,

^r John i. 29. 36.

^s Rev. xiii. 8.

strictly speaking, of his personal ministry, in preparing the way, by natural and gradual steps, for that great consummation of the whole—taking every precaution that it should not be accelerated or antedated, while his time was yet distant, and nothing solicitous to retard or procrastinate it, when his hour was fully come*.

If so, by specifying beforehand that which was to happen at the close of our Saviour's personal ministry, and was to have such power and efficacy as to cause

* This phrase, which occurs so repeatedly, especially in St. John's Gospel, to denote the proper termination of the period appointed beforehand for the continued immunity of the Messiah's person, after the commencement of his public ministry—and so far the termination of his public ministry also, which began and which ended with the beginning and continuance of that immunity itself; by recognising a predetermined point of time, at which the ministry of the Messiah should terminate, virtually recognises a predetermined point of time, where it should begin, and a predeterminate interval, for which it should last between them. There must have been *an hour*, at which to enter upon his ministry, if there was *an hour* at which to make an end of it; and either of these might be called with equal propriety *his own*. And each being as determinate as the other, the interval comprehended between them becomes of course determinate likewise. In one word, the whole of the Messiah's ministry, with respect to its point of commencement, its point of

cessation, and its intermediate duration, was all predeterminate alike. From the time that he appeared among men, to the time that he disappeared from among them, his course was already laid down, and he had only to walk in the path long before prescribed for him. If this was the case, if Messiah appeared to fulfil a predetermined part with scrupulous exactness—more especially his part in relation to time—we cannot hesitate to believe that he came to fulfil a part prescribed and defined for him by this prophecy of the Seventy weeks: and in nothing more so than in those portions of it which relate to the time of his coming, and to the time of his being cut off; and consequently to the length of the interval for which he should be conversant with men in the discharge of his ministry. If he had his hour to begin, and his hour to make an end, and both so long before fixed and defined, that neither could be antedated or retarded; we cannot hesitate to believe it was an hour in each instance prescribed by this prophecy more particularly.

the cessation of sacrifice and meat offering both; the prophecy virtually recognises his previous ministry as preparatory thereto: and by specifying this one effect at the end of the whole, as the work of an half portion of the seven-day-year, it recognises the duration of that personal ministry, as altogether preparatory and altogether dedicated to that effect, as a period of three years and one half previously.

In this part of the prophecy, therefore, we perceive the omission to be supplied, the existence of which we had reason to suspect before; viz. the definition of the interval, implied but not declared, between the first appearing of Messiah, Leader or Prince, and the cutting off of Messiah afterwards: and it now appears that this interval was always designed to be one half portion of a week of years, with the beginning of which one great purpose should begin to be accomplished—during the course of which the same great purpose should be steadily kept in view—and at the end of which it should be finally consummated; viz. the putting a stop to every vicarious and expiatory sacrifice of every description, by Messiah's sacrifice of himself in the capacity of the true daily burnt offering of morning and evening throughout the year, and of the true antitype of every other sacrifice under the Law, whether animal or vegetable, alike.

The only question, which can remain for discussion, under these circumstances, will be, Why the definition of this interval, which constitutes the true measure of Messiah's ministry, should be deferred to this point in the order of the disclosures relative to the facts of the Christian ministry, while the allusion to his appearing and to his being cut off occurred so long before? It would be of little importance what answer were returned to this question, so long as the matter of fact

itself remained the same and undeniable ; viz. that the true measure of Messiah's ministry, whether implied in its proper place or not, is actually specified here, and so clearly that there can be no doubt about it. In an historical point of view, however, and the prophecy being regarded as an anticipation of the Christian history beforehand ; the continuity of this history was more likely to be kept unbroken by passing from Messiah's appearing to his being cut off—and from his being cut off, to the making good of a covenant for many, in which the final end and design of all his history previously was obviously summed up—than by interposing between his appearing and his death the account of his ministry meanwhile. The purpose of his ministry previously, however long it might have lasted, was all summed up in the article of his death : and the fact of his death being one thing, and the final end of the fact another, the one might be represented distinctly from the other. Considered, too, in its connection with the foundation of the Christian religion, or the introduction of that new dispensation which was to supersede the Levitical ; the regular transition in the order of events would be, from the appearing of Messiah to his cutting off, and from his cutting off to the stablishing of a covenant with many. If the first principle of that new dispensation, the basis of the covenant so established, was also to be defined ; then, as rooted and grounded in the doctrine of a crucified Saviour, the further declaration of this first principle, or statement of this covenant basis, would suggest the final end or effect of his death, in the atoning virtue which was always designed to be contemplated by it : but in an order last of all. Besides, the prophecy being described at the outset, as one of seventy weeks, or as it must now very plainly appear, of seventy and an

half ; but the whole being distributed into portions of seven, and sixty-two, and one, and one half respectively ; it was a more natural order to dispose of the integral periods or divisions of the whole, and their purposes, before any thing was said of the half portion or fraction remaining. In any case, so long as it shall not be maintained that the half portion, mentioned by the prophecy last of all, is either implied or affirmed to be posterior to the one week, just before specified ; or the event which is assigned to it not to be independent of every thing else ; it never can be considered a matter of vital importance, in what order relatively to the rest this particular portion of time should be found to stand, or the business to which it should be devoted to be declared and specified. There were doubtless reasons for the position of it, whether we could discover them or not^b.

And now, long as the preceding discussion has lasted, the reader, I trust, will do me the justice to admit that it has been directed to the consideration of nothing which might not be regarded as strictly preliminary ; and upon which it would not be necessary that we should come to some conclusion, preparatory to any attempt to shew the fulfilment of the prophecy by a comparison with the event. The principles of the proposed scheme of interpretation being thus ascertained beforehand, the rest of our task, which regards the proof of the fulfilment, will be comparatively short and easy ; for all that we shall have to do will be merely to state the predictions of the prophecy ; side by side with the facts in which they were verified ; the truth of these facts themselves, in every instance, having been largely, and as I trust satisfactorily established in the previous Dissertations of the present work : remem-

^b See on this subject, Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 14, 15.

bering only, that not one of these facts, but what rests upon its proper grounds of belief, independent of this prophecy itself, and not one, but what would be equally true, as placed upon those grounds, though no such thing as this prophecy had ever existed in scripture.

With this view, it may be expedient, at this stage of our discussion, once more to propose an English version of the prophecy, embodying those several alterations which we have considered it necessary to make in the Bible text version, and adhering as closely as possible to the letter of the original, throughout; in particular, taking care to preserve the order and collocation of its terms, and to avoid that fault which has been found a very common source of inaccuracy in the Bible version, the arbitrary insertion or the arbitrary omission of the article, even at the expense of some sacrifice of the proprieties of our own language, if by these means the version can be rendered so much the more faithful to the original.

Daniel ix. 24—27.

SEVENTY WEEKS are determined

Upon people of thee, and upon ||city of holiness of thee, || Holy city
of thee.

To shut up the transgression,

And to seal up sins,

And to cover over depravity,

And to bring on righteousness of ages,

And to seal up vision and prophet,

And to anoint an holy of holies.

And thou shalt know and shalt understand,
From going forth of a word to cause to return,

And to build Jerusalem,

Unto Messiah, Leader,

shall be

Weeks seven, and weeks threescore and two.

There shall || return and be built

|| Be built
again.

D d 2

|| Ditch or
rampart.

Street and || wall,
And in strait of the times convenient.

|| None
shall be
his.

And after the weeks threescore and two
Shall Messiah be cut off, and || no one unto him :
And the city and the sanctuary
Shall a people of a leader to come destroy :
And his end *shall be* in a flood,
And unto an end of war
Shall be sentences determinate of desolations.

|| Make to
cease.

And a covenant for many
Shall one week make potent :
And an half portion of the week
Shall || put to rest sacrifice and meat-offering.
And upon wing of abominations
Shall he be making desolate :
And unto a consummation and a sentence determinate
Shall be poured upon *the* made desolate.

Now to consider in brief the fulfilment of these various predictions. First, Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city : though seventy weeks only are specified, it appears that seventy and an half are really intended. And that it is perfectly consistent with the idiom of the Hebrew language, to express such a number as seventy and an half exactly, by the round number seventy, is admitted by all writers upon that language, and has been illustrated by a variety of cases in point ^b.

Secondly, Two classes of events being combined in the prophecy, those of the Christian ministry, and those of the Jewish war, let us consider them distinctly, and the former by themselves first : And thou shalt know and shalt understand, from going forth of a word to cause to return and to build Jerusalem, unto Messiah Leader, *shall be* weeks seven, and weeks threescore

^b Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 6—8.

and two : that is, sixty-nine weeks, or 483 years in all.

Ezra set out on his mission on the first of the first month, which answered that year to March 9, in the sixth of Artaxerxes : and arrived in Jerusalem on the first of the fifth month, answering to July 5, in the seventh of the same reign, B. C. 458^c.

The word of the Lord came to John Baptist in the wilderness, and he made his appearance in the public discharge of his ministry, on or before October 5, A. D. 26^d. And that the first appearance of John, in the public discharge of his commission, was to all intents and purposes the commencement of the ministration of the Messiah, has been proved at large in Dissertation xix. vol. ii. 148–191.

From July B. C. 458, to October A. D. 26, or before, the interval was exactly 483 years, or sixty-nine weeks of years.

Again, And after the weeks threescore and two, shall Messiah be cut off, and no one unto him.

The ministration of the Messiah began with the appearance of John the Baptist, A. D. 26, *at* the end of the threescore and two weeks ; and the ministration of the Messiah was closed by his rejection and passion, A. D. 30, *after* the threescore and two weeks.

Again, And a covenant for many shall one week make potent.

The Gospel began to be preached to the Jews exclusively, at the Pentecost May 26, A. D. 30, and to the Samaritans, at the Pentecost May 9, A. D. 37^e.

Again, And an half portion of the week shall put to rest sacrifice and meat offering.

^c Ezra vii. 8, 9. viii. 15. 31. Cf. Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 16–18. and Dissertation xix. vol. ii. 182, 183. ^d Cf. Dissertation xii. vol. i. 411. ^e Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 19–62.

The ministration of the Messiah being begun by the appearance of John Baptist, October 5, A. D. 26, and closed by the passion of Jesus Christ, April 5, A. D. 30—the interval between these dates was exactly three years and an half.

Again, with respect to the particulars of the second class, combined with those of the Christian ministry—the facts of the Jewish war; all that is necessary under this head, to demonstrate the agreement of the prediction with the event, is to shew, that from the close of the first seven weeks of the prophecy, another period of sixty-nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty-three years, will bring us to the true termination of the Jewish war, *beyond* the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, at least.

The first seven weeks of the prophecy expired B. C. 409. The true date of the termination of the Jewish war, understanding by the name the whole series of calamities which befell the Jews upon that first occasion, was A. D. 75. For the war broke out in Artemisius or April, A. D. 66, and the whole series of visitations consequent upon it was closed for the present, with the desecration or destruction of the temple of Onias in Egypt, A. D. 75. From B. C. 409, to A. D. 75, and very probably the same time of the year in each instance, the interval was exactly 483 years^f.

And this being the case, it is impossible not to perceive a very striking coincidence between this second period of four hundred and eighty-three years, devoted to the events of the Jewish war, and the former one of the same number of years, devoted to those of the Christian ministry; that, as they began exactly forty-nine years asunder, so they terminated exactly forty-nine years asunder also: that is, the same num-

^f See Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 65—81.

ber of years, expressed by weeks, was reciprocal with respect to each. Detach seven weeks of years from the point of the commencement of the first of these four hundred and eighty-three years, and you obtain the point of the commencement of the second; and subtract seven weeks of years from the close of the second of these four hundred and eighty-three years, and you are brought to the close of the first: for B.C. 458 – 49, brings us to B.C. 409, the ἀρχὴ of the second 483 years, on the one hand, and A.D. 75 – 49, brings us to A.D. 26, the close of the first on the other.

It is true that, as thus stated, the coincidence in question may appear to be nothing remarkable; for it may seem to amount only to thus much, that 483 + 49, dated from B.C. 458, is exactly equivalent to 49 + 483, dated from A.D. 75. But the remarkableness of the coincidence consists in this, that two lines of futurity being combined in the same scope of prophecy, the one passing much beyond the other with respect to the point of time when it was destined to arrive at its close; the beginning of the second of these lines is found to have been fixed by the prophecy itself, exactly at the same distance of time from that of the first, as the close of the second of the same lines, from the close of the first. Now the prophecy might fix the *commencement* of the second of these lines, but it could not fix the *termination*. A moment's consideration must satisfy us, that through the whole of this wonderful prophecy, not a single particular came to pass *because* it was predicted, and for that reason only; for in that case it would follow, that if none of these things had been predicted, not one of them would have happened. The prescience which dictated the prophecy foresaw each of these events, and foretold them accordingly;

but it did not determine the events in conformity to its predictions, merely because they had been made the subjects thereof; that is to say, it left the events free to such causes as determine the being or not being of events, whether they have been made the subject of prophecy beforehand or not. Hence, though the separation of seven weeks or forty-nine years from the head of four hundred and eighty-three might be an arbitrary thing; the close of the Jewish war, A. D. 75, was not so, but must be determined by the course of events: and the course of events, for any thing that we can comprehend or conceive, might have brought the Jewish war to a close a year sooner than A. D. 75, or a year later. But the course of events, it appears, brought it to a close exactly A. D. 75: and A. D. 75 was exactly forty-nine years later than A. D. 26: as B. C. 409 was exactly forty-nine years later than B. C. 458. And A. D. 26 was the close of the first of the lines of futurity, as bearing date from B. C. 458, and A. D. 75 was the close of the second, as bearing date from B. C. 409. The course of events, then, it seems, brought each of these lines to an end, exactly at the same distance of time asunder, as the beginning of the second had been fixed by the prophecy itself, from the beginning of the first. And though the prophecy might fix the beginning of this line, it could not fix its termination. The separation of forty-nine years from the first of these lines, to constitute the beginning of the second, might be an arbitrary act; but the end of the line, whose beginning had been thus determined, must be left to the course of things. What further argument is necessary to satisfy us, that seven weeks, or forty-nine years, but no more, were purposely detached from the rest of the prophecy, to serve as the point of

departure to the second of its lines of futurity, because it was foreseen, that in the due course of events, this line itself would come to an end exactly at that distance of time from the other? And, consequently, what further argument is necessary to prove, that arbitrary as this separation may appear, it was in reality forecast with the nicest adaptation to the necessity of the case, and to the course of things to come? and the opprobrium of commentators, and confessedly the most difficult and inexplicable of the circumstances of the prophecy, as this division of the first seven of its weeks from the body of the rest has heretofore been; yet when the true reason of it comes to be perceived, it is really one of the most worthy of admiration, and not only as intelligible as any of the rest, but perhaps of all, the most characteristic of the prescience which dictated the whole.

And now having arrived at this conclusion, I am not aware that any thing further is requisite to the full and entire explanation of the prophecy of the seventy weeks, in all and singular of its parts. Yet, long as we have dwelt upon this subject, before we take our leave of it finally, I cannot refrain from observing that the service which this prophecy is calculated to render to sacred and profane chronology, by fixing with chronological precision the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the date of the mission of Ezra, exactly four hundred and eighty-three years before the true date of the commencement of the ministration of the Messiah, A. D. 26—and consequently to B. C. 458, is very important. B. C. 458, the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus being given as a fixed point, it is easy to ascend from thence to the first of Cyrus, B. C. 536: and from the first of Cyrus, B. C. 536, to the date of the Baby-

lonian captivity, B. C. 606: which being once determined, we are put in possession of a key-stone to the whole edifice of scripture chronology through the reigns of the kings of Judah, by themselves first, and afterwards of Judah and Israel conjointly; and so on to the date of the Exodus, and to those of still earlier events. Nor can I forbear to observe, (what must, in fact, be my best, and certainly my principal apology, for devoting so much time and attention to this one subject, in the course of a work like the present,) that this same prophecy is of infinite importance in settling the basis of every attempt at an harmonized, chronological arrangement of the facts of the Gospel, or of those of the Apostolical history: for after what has been shewn, it must be the height of scepticism, I think, to question whether the prophecy of the seventy weeks, among its other predictions and determinations of events to come, has not fixed the interval between Messiah the Prince and his cutting off—that is, between the beginning and the conclusion of that ministration which we have called the ministration of the Messiah—to a period of half a week, and neither more nor less than half a week; that is, to neither more nor less than three years and six months' time: in which case, every attempt at an harmonized arrangement of the events of the four Gospel histories, from the commencement of the preaching of John, to the death and passion of our Lord—which would not plainly be contradictory to this prophecy, or plainly be contradicted by it—must be arranged accordingly. It would be equal scepticism, under the same circumstances, to doubt, whether the same prophecy has fixed the period, during which formal Christianity was to be preached to the Jews, and preached to them exclusively, to an

interval of one week of years, and of one week only ; and therefore whether every attempt to settle the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles, between the day of Pentecost, when the Gospel began to be preached, and the time of the martyrdom of Stephen, that is to say, for the first seven chapters of the Acts themselves, that would not contradict this prophecy, or be contradicted by it, must be governed by this knowledge of the event, accordingly : and the first seven chapters of the Acts and of the Apostolical History—being thus to be distributed over the first seven years of the Christian history, from A. D. 30, to A. D. 37, it follows of necessity that the rest must be digested and distributed, also, so as to accord with these. The only true basis of the chronological arrangement of the history of the apostles, and of their labours, as far as it is recorded in the Acts or in the Epistles, and as far as it is to be made up consistently out of the notices supplied by either, or by both—is thus determined beforehand. If that arrangement would not proceed on a false foundation, it must set out with this cardinal principle—that seven years elapsed, and are to be accounted for accordingly, between the first Christian sermon, and the first instance of the conversion of any but Jews.

I am well aware that these are positions, which will meet with an unwelcome reception from the minds of readers prepossessed with contrary persuasions, which they have long been in the habit of considering as true ; or from such writers upon these subjects as stand committed to opinions of a very different kind : especially the authors of harmonies of the gospel, which proceed on the principle of a one year's or a two years' ministry of our Saviour, at the utmost. But convinced as I am of the truth of these statements, I

can neither retract nor qualify them. The truth must be spoken—especially where the honour of a prophecy like that of the seventy weeks, the most illustrious monument of prophecy even in the Old Testament itself—or the question of the plain simple meaning of its terms, is at stake. *Amicus Plato, sed magis amica religio*: ἀμφοῖν γὰρ φίλοιιν ὄντοιιν, ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. We must not allow ourselves to be restrained by any false delicacy, from declaring our opinion plainly, that with the palpable evidence of this prophecy before their eyes, those harmonists who pay no attention to its intimations, in arranging the facts of the gospel history, are either unintentionally guilty of a serious oversight—or do a wilful disparagement to the prophecy itself. They are unintentionally guilty of a serious oversight, if they forget to attend to intimations which so closely concern their proper subject: and they wilfully disparage the prophecy, if, knowing of these intimations, they think they may be excused from attending to them, as too indefinite or precarious to lead to any certain conclusion—or too equivocal and ambiguous to be plainly and clearly understood.

As for myself, it has been my object, with God's blessing and assistance upon my humble endeavours, to ascertain a scheme of interpretation of this celebrated prophecy, which should assume no theory, as its basis, independent of the prophecy—should seek for no clue to its investigations, beyond the self-furnished light of the prophecy itself, and desire no confirmation of its truth, but the evidence of the event. And I think, that by the same Divine blessing and assistance, a scheme has been proposed above, which, to the best of my judgment, is complete and perfect from first to last; founded in the principles of

common sense, and agreeable to the most reasonable conceptions and anticipations, which, either from its own express language, or the reason of things, we could have formed of the nature and construction, the meaning and design, of the prophecy beforehand; and, it is needless to add, most entirely in unison with the event—when the correctness of its principles comes to be tested by their consistency with the matter of fact; which after all is the only sure proof of their truth.

This wonderful prophecy, as interpreted in conformity to these principles, and as confirmed by that proof of the fulfilment, is fixed on a basis of sound and consistent exposition, which cannot easily be shaken. Placed on that basis, and illustrated both by its own evidence, and by the light of the event, it must stand recorded to the end of time; bearing the most luminous testimony to the wisdom and foreknowledge of God—to his providential control of times and seasons—to the inspiration of his holy scriptures, and of the Book of Daniel in particular—to the facts of the Christian history, and to the most cardinal and characteristic doctrines of our holy religion itself: and grounded upon the same basis, and illustrated by the same light, it must put to shame the obstinacy of the infidel, who can remain unconvinced by it; it may defy the cavils of the sceptic, who will in vain endeavour to except against the evidence by which it is confirmed; and it will elude the false glosses, and surmount the perverse ingenuity of those enemies of the cross of Christ, among nominal Christians, who see nothing in the death of Christ beyond the mere fact of the death itself; or read in the death of the Teacher only the confirmation of the doctrine which he taught; shutting their eyes to the further and much more im-

portant truth, which this prophecy is competent to teach them, that “Seventy weeks were determined on the people of Daniel and on the holy city of Daniel,” not only “To seal up vision and prophet;” but “To bring on righteousness of ages; To shut up the transgression; To seal up sins; To cover over depravity; and To put sacrifice and meat-offering to rest.”

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XX.

On the Date of Trajan's Expedition into the East.

Vide Dissertation xvii. vol. ii. page 123. line 12—133. l. 13.

THE supposition of a double martyrdom, or a double succession in the bishopric of Jerusalem, one of Simon the Cananite, the other of Simon the reputed son of Cleopas; is the best calculated to reconcile the conflicting traditions respecting their history, which were insisted on in the seventeenth Dissertation above referred to. It derives some countenance from the double date assigned to the martyrdom of the latter, A. D. 104 or 105, and A. D. 107 or 108, between which learned authorities are much divided; the former resting on the testimony of the Paschal Chronicon, the latter on that of Eusebius. Also from the fact that the Greek and Latin calendars, respectively, kept different days in commemoration of the martyrdom in question; the former April 27, the latter February 18^a.

Eusebius, as it is well known, (and Jerome, after him,) joins with the martyrdom of Simon the son of Cleopas, that of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, both in the same year of Trajan: and as he makes them suffer together, so he supposes them to be appointed bishops of their respective churches together^b. It is probable that he was induced to make their deaths synchronous, because that of Ignatius was placed by his Acta in the ninth of Trajan, and that of Symeon, by

^a Vide Ruinart, Acta Martyrum. Admonitio ad Martyrium S. Symeonis, p. 6. 1.

^b E. H. iii. 22.

Hegesippus, at a time when Trajan was in the East, which the Acta suppose to be the case in the ninth of his reign. But, if the two events were united only on the supposition of Trajan's presence in the East in the ninth year of his reign, we may, without scruple, separate them again. It is subversive of the truth of history to place Trajan's eastern expeditions in the ninth or tenth year of his reign.

The Acta, it is true, are so far consistent with themselves that, as they place the apprehension and trial of Ignatius before Trajan at Antioch, in the *ninth* year of his reign^c, so they place his death at Rome, on Dec. 20^d, Coss. Senecione et Sura. These were actually consuls, ex Kal. Jan. U. C. 860, still in the *ninth* of Trajan. It is true also^e that, at the time of Ignatius' actual suffering, the writer of the account speaks as an eyewitness and contemporary, in the first person. But they are scarcely consistent in placing the martyrdom in the ninth of Trajan; and yet speaking of it^f as following so soon after the persecution, last endured, under Domitian: τοὺς πάλαι χειμῶνας μόλις παραγαγὼν τῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ διωγμῶν: and again, λωφήσαντος πρὸς ὀλίγον τοῦ διωγμοῦ: and, ὅθεν ἔτεσιν ὀλίγοις ἔτι παραμένων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. As Domitian's persecution was over by A.D. 96 at the latest, a ten years' interval of peace, particularly at that time, seems longer than could be properly spoken of in those terms.

If the Acta had said nothing of Trajan's being at

^c Ruinart, Acta Martyrum, p. 15. cap. 2. The same date is recognised in the Encomium Sti Dionysii, of Michael Syngelus. Vide Dionysius Areopagita, Opera ii. 233. *ad calcem*. Syncellus, i. 647. l. 13. quoting apparently from Eusebius, supposes Ignatius to have sat at Antioch from the last year of Vespasian, (U. C. 831.) thirty years: which also places his martyrdom in the tenth or eleventh of Trajan; for U. C. 831 + 30 is U. C. 861. Yet this is a very different statement from that which is given by Nicephorus, (apud Syncellum, i. 781. l. 10—13.) according to which Peter was bishop of Antioch eleven years, Evodius twenty-three, and Ignatius only four. Eusebius, as we have observed, E. H. iii. 22, supposes Ignatius appointed bishop of Antioch, and Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, about the same time, and each apparently in the reign of Trajan. ^d Ibid. capp. 2. 6. ^e Ibid. cap. 6. ^f Cap. 1.

Antioch, when Ignatius was sent to Rome, but had merely told us that it was after his Dacian or Scythian victories, when he was meditating further conquests in the East; we might have been at liberty to suppose that he was sent to Rome at the close of the first Dacian war, U. C. 856, as much as at the close of the second, U. C. 859: at both which times the emperor celebrated a *Triumphus Dacicus*. Nor is any good reason assigned why the martyr should be sent to suffer at Rome, if he was really condemned before Trajan in person at Antioch. Throughout his own Epistles, which he wrote on his way to Rome, there is no allusion to the presence of the emperor in the East. It is not improbable that he was a Roman citizen; and that this was the reason of his being sent to suffer at Rome. Latin words repeatedly occur in his Epistles; as ἐξemplάριον (for exemplar); δεσέρτωρ (desertor); δεπόσιτα (deposita); and ἄκκεπτα (accepta,) in the peculiarly classical sense of *accepta* as opposed to *expensa*. Besides which, the persecution, such as it was, began and ended with the particular martyrdom of Ignatius; whom the Acta speak of (cap. 2.) as having offered himself ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας: and when he himself wrote to the church of Smyrna §, in consequence of his selection as the appointed victim peace had been restored to Syria. So likewise in his Epistle to Polycarp^h; whence the peace in question is seen to have ensued on his departure. What reason is there to suppose, then, that any one person suffered on this occasion, besides Ignatius? much more, such an one as the bishop of Jerusalem, either himself an apostle, or next to the apostles, the most worthy of the name of an apostle, at that time alive.

As the truth or the falsehood of the statements in

§ Cap. 11. Patres Apostolici, 875.

^h Cap. 7. Patres Apostolici, 878.

question depends mainly on the decision of the disputed point whether Trajan was, or was not, in Syria so early as the ninth or tenth year of his reign; I shall enter a little at large on the consideration of this point: which the letters of Pliny the younger, a contemporary of Trajan's, enable us to decide satisfactorily in the negative

When Pliny was in office as proconsul of Bithynia, the tenth book of his Epistles demonstrates that Trajan was at Rome; certainly not in the East: and Pliny was not proconsul of Bithynia before the twelfth or the thirteenth of Trajan, or even later: as may thus be shewn.

Epp. lib. ii. 1, mention is made of the death of Verginius Rufus, thirty years after the memorable part which he had acted at the outset of the civil wars, between the revolt of Vindex and the death of Nero; that is, between March and June, U. C. 821. He died in his *third* consulate; which he discharged, U. C. 850, along with the emperor Nerva, whom he left alive at his deathⁱ. Now Nerva himself was not living after Jan. 27, U. C. 851. The death of Verginius, therefore, in his third consulate, under such circumstances, and in the *thirtieth* year from U. C. 821, must have been in the spring quarter of U. C. 850. It agrees with this conclusion, that Cornelius Tacitus, who pronounced his funeral oration as consul suffectus at the time, appears in the Fasti, consul suffectus before Kal. Jul. U. C. 850.

Yet (Epp. vi. 10) we find Pliny complaining that no monument had yet been erected, or at least completed, to the memory of this illustrious patriot *, Post *deci-*

* His death is alluded to *obiter*, v. 3. sect. 5.

ⁱ So Dio, lxxviii. 2.

mum mortis annum ; that is, before U. C. 859 or 860, at least. If so, U. C. 859 or 860, in the ninth or tenth of Trajan, Pliny was still at Rome.

Now this letter is interposed in the midst of the account of the proceedings against Varenus ; a former proconsul of Bithynia, and, at the expiration of his office, accused by his subjects^k.

The accusation of Varenus had followed upon that of Bassus^l, who also had been president of Bithynia—and certainly before Pliny ; see x. 64, 65 : therefore so had Varenus.

Now as the accusation of Varenus could not take place long before U. C. 859 or U. C. 860, the ninth or tenth of Trajan, and as it was protracted a considerable time ; so neither could Pliny, who was at Rome during its whole course, be sent into Bithynia before the same year, nor yet for some time afterwards. From various epistles, which might be cited, we may collect that more than *one* year, or even two years and upwards, must have elapsed between the writing of vi. 10. in the midst of the proceedings against Varenus, and the time of Pliny's being dispatched to Bithynia. His letters follow each other in a sufficiently regular order^m ; and he appears to have published them by *one* or more books at a time.

They begin, as we have seen, about the first year of Nervaⁿ ; and they end (x. &c.) with the correspondence in his province. Nor is there, in the nine preceding books, a single allusion to his having been governor of Bithynia, or of any other part of the empire : though there are numerous references to the fact of his having been consul^o : as he was, ex Kal. Sept. U. C. 853^p.

^k Lib. vi. 20 : vi. 5. 13. 29 : vii. 6. 10. ^l Lib. v. 20 : iv. 9. ^m See lib.
vi. 10. 16. 20 : ix. 19. 15. 36. 40. ⁿ i. 5 : ii. 1. ^o iii. 13. 18. 20 : iv. 8.
17 : v. 15 : vi. 27 : x. 20. ^p Panegyricus, 56. 60, 61. 90, 91, 92.

It follows, therefore, that the first nine books of Pliny's extant Epistles were written before his proconsulate; and that the greatest part of the tenth was written during it. The first six of these books were not all published before U. C. 859 or 860: and the writer was in Italy for two or three years or more afterwards. Hence, he could not be sent into Bithynia before U. C. 862 or 863, the twelfth or the thirteenth of Trajan. He arrived in his province, xv Kal. Oct.^q and his legate arrived there, viii Kal. Dec.^r He continued in his province at least eighteen months; for he twice celebrated Trajan's birthday, September 18^{*s}, and the day of his

* It is a curious coincidence, that though Pliny tells the emperor, x. 28, that he came into his province only xv Kal. Oct. Sept. 17, he had still an opportunity of celebrating his birthday there.

With respect to the date of this emperor's birth and death, the former is placed by chronologers on September 18, and the latter on August 11. The date of his birth is correctly stated: but as to the day of his death, Spartian, Hadrianus, 4. specifies the iii. Ides of August, or August 11, as the day on which Hadrian (at that time in Syria, and most probably at Antioch) received the news of the death of Trajan; of which there is little doubt that it took place at Selinus in Cilicia. Dio, lxxviii. 33^t.

Now, it is physically improbable, that the news of an event which happened at Selinus in Cilicia, could have been brought to Antioch on the same day. Hence, as Casaubon justly observes, there would seem to be reason to doubt the received date of the death of Trajan, August 11, U. C. 870.

Jerome, in Chronico, Ad annum Abrahami 2132. Trajani xix., remarks, in reference to the date of his death, that it happened, anno ætatis lxiii. mense nono, die quarto: which means, I apprehend, that he was sixty-two complete, and in his sixty-third year, at the time of his death, U. C. 870; and that dated from his birthday, the day of his death was the fourth day of the *tenth* month. The birth-

^q x. 26, 27, 28, 29. ^r x. 10. ^s Kalendarium Vindobonense. Cf. Dio, lxxviii. 6. and Pliny, Panegyricus, 92. sect. 4. ^t The Sibylline oracles, alluding to the death of Trajan, liber v. p. 551. line 2. describe the locality where it was to happen

in the following terms: *ὅν κόνις ἀλλοτρίη κρύψει νέκυν, ἀλλ' ἀνεμείης | ἄνθεος οὐνομ' ἔχουσα*. Commentators, concluding Selinus in Cilicia to be the place meant, raise difficulties why *σέλινον* should be called a windy flower. But the true reading of the passage is *ἀλλὰ Νεμείης | ἄνθεος οὐνομ' ἔχουσα*—with which all difficulty vanishes. *Σέλινον*, or parsley, it is well known, was the prize of the victors in the Nemean games.

accession, January 27: and twice performed the usual ceremony of the Votorum Nuncupatio *, on January 3, while there†^t.

day of Trajan being assumed to be September 18, the tenth month from that date, would begin June 18; and the day of his death, on the same principle, being the fourth of that month, would be June 21. I confess, that this appears to me a much more probable date for the death of Trajan, than Aug. 11; especially if the news of his death was received in Antioch upon that day. The impossibility of the tidings of an event which happened at Selinus in Cilicia, or at Seleucia in Isauria, being received in Syria on the same day, has been already insisted upon: but we have produced elsewhere abundance of examples to shew that a month or upwards might intervene before a communication from Cilicia could be received in Syria.

It is true, that Dio told us Trajan was forty-two years old current or complete, at the time of his accession, U. C. 851: Cf. Zonaras, xi. 21. 584. B: in which case he would be only sixty-two years old, current or complete, at the same time, U. C. 871. It is probable there is an error in the text of Jerome, of lxiii for lxii: and if Dio meant that Trajan was forty-two complete, and in his forty-third, January 27, U. C. 851, this statement would be consistent with Jerome's, understood to denote that he was sixty-one complete, and in the tenth month of his sixty-second, June 21, U. C. 870. In any

case, the supposed date of the latter for the day of his death, the fourth day of the tenth month, (dated from September 18.) is not affected by this difference.

* The vota in question were quite distinct from the vota decennialia, so common in later times; and the first instance of which appears on a coin of Trajan's U. C. 869. Eckhel, vi. 439.

Lucian, Pseudologista, Opera iii. 168. 7: ἐνθένδε ἦν μὲν ἡ τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχή, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης νομηνίας τρίτη, ἐν ᾗ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τι ἀρχαῖον εὐχονται τε αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔτους εὐχάς τινας, καὶ θύουσι, Νομᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως καταστησαμένων τὰς ἱερουργίας αὐτοῖς. Cf. Pliny, Panegyricus, 67, 68.

Cicero's birthday fell on these vota, iii. non. Jan.—Aulus Gellius, xv. 28. By a singular mode of speaking, however, Plutarch, Cicero, 2, says he was born, ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ τῶν νέων καλανδῶν; that is, *after* them: post diem tertium Kalendas, instead of ante diem tertium Nonas, Januarias. Cf. Spartianus, Hadrianus, 24, Ælius Verus, 4: Capitolinus, Pertinax, 6: Vopiscus, Tacitus, 9.

In the opera inedita of Fronto, pars prior, p. 11, we have a letter of Fronto's to Antoninus Pius, written upon occasion of one of these vota, as renewed on the anniversary of his accession to the throne. Epp. ad Antoninum, v.

† Some of the epistles at the beginning of the tenth book, it

^t x. 28. 44, 45. 60, 61. 89, 90. 101, 102, 103, 104. Cf. also x. 4. 6.

If, then, he did not come into his province at the earliest before U. C. 862 or 863, he could not have left it again before U. C. 864 or 865, the fourteenth or fifteenth of Trajan : and during all this time the emperor was at Rome. See in particular x. 48, 49.

It might be inferred from x. 41, one of Trajan's epistles, where the words, *intra hos proximos decem annos*, occur, that not less than *ten* years of his reign were over when that letter was written ; and possibly a good deal more.

Nor can any objection be brought from x. 64, 65, where the acts of Bassus, who had been governor before Pliny, are said to have been rescinded, and a term of *two* years prescribed, within which all parties who had been affected by them were empowered to appeal against them. This does not mean the *two* years last past before Pliny came into office ; but the two years next to ensue after the decree of the senate : between which and Bassus' year of office any length of time might have intervened *. The same letter speaks of a proconsul called Calvus, and of his having banished certain persons *in triennium* : which three years were in the course of expiration, when Pliny was still in office. It is probable, therefore, that his immediate predecessor was this Calvus ; (whom Trajan's reply shews to have been still alive ;) and not Varenus, or much more Bassus. There could not be less than two years' interval between Pliny and this proconsul in particular : otherwise Varenus and Calvus would have had but two years between them, and Pliny would

is true, were written before the time of Pliny's government ; and appear to have been added to the collection when the rest were published, probably because they passed between himself and Trajan : others, too, are somewhat

out of their place, as for instance x. 10. compared with x. 26, &c.

* The answer of Trajan, x. 65. shews this *biennium* to have been passed when that letter was written.

have succeeded to the latter, at the beginning, not at the end, of the *triennium* in question.

The learned Tillemont, to save the credit of the *Acta* of Ignatius, and at the same time to reconcile them with contemporary history, supposed a double expedition of Trajan's into the East*, one in his fifth consulate, U. C. 856, the other in his sixth, U. C. 865. This opinion is sufficiently confuted by the above review; which establishes this fact at least, viz. that Trajan had not marched into the East before the sixteenth of his reign. But, as Tillemont himself afterwards renounced the opinion, it is not necessary to say more concerning it †.

The chronology of the reign of Trajan, as fixed by Eckhel, vi. 412—417, is as follows :

U. C. 854, the first Dacian war was begun : U. C. 856, the title of Dacicus^u first appears on his coins : in the autumn of this year he is supposed to have celebrated his first *Triumphus Dacicus*. So far Eckhel agrees with Spartian, Hadrianus, 3.

U. C. 857, the war broke out anew : U. C. 858^v, it is proved by the coins of Trajan to have been brought to an end by the death of Decebalus, and by the entire reduction of the country. Spartian^x also shews that it was continuing in or after U. C. 858. The next year the emperor is supposed to have returned to Rome, and celebrated his second Dacic triumph.

The events of the three next years, U. C. 860—862,

* A double expedition is supposed by Jerome also, *Ad annum Abrahami* 2118. *Traiani* v. and *Ad annum Abrahami* 2128. *Traiani* xv. Eusebius' *Armenian Chronicon* supposes only the latter; or rather omits distinctly to mention either.

† In the fragment of the works

^u Dio, lxxviii. 10.

of Fronto, *apud Frontonis Opera inedita*, pars ii. called *Principia Historiæ*, 337—360, are repeated allusions to Trajan's Parthian expedition; which shew that he was only once in the East. The author of that work, Fronto, as he tells us himself, was contemporary with the expedition.

^v Eckhel, *libro citato*, 418.

^x Hadrianus, 3.

Eckhel considers uncertain both from history, coins, and marbles. Yet from Spartian^y there is reason to collect Trajan was at Rome during them. Besides which, the marble which Eckhel cites, under U. C. 863, shews that the highway through the Pontine marshes, begun about U. C. 859^z, and the road from Beneventum to Brundisium, were completed, as is most probable, this year; so that the emperor was, as we may presume, in Italy; just as Pliny's letters from his province, if any of them were written U. C. 863, would otherwise shew him to be.

U. C. 863—865, we have the evidence of the epistles that the emperor was not yet in the East: and U. C. 866, the dedication of Trajan's pillar^a, which the marble produced by Eckhel^b, fixes to this year, would require his presence at Rome.

The first year, then, when the expedition in question could be undertaken, is U. C. 866 or 867. Eckhel adopts the latter date, and considers Dio or Xiphilinus his abbreviator, in error, for having placed it in the former^c. I do not know that this is necessarily to be collected from their accounts. It is very possible that the emperor set out in the spring of U. C. 867, and not in the autumn, as Eckhel thinks: and that he had made one campaign that same year before he was wintering at Antioch, when the earthquake happened. The title of Parthicus, earned by his successes in this war, appears first on his coins, U. C. 869^d: and as to the coin, inscribed *Profectio Augusti*, and bearing date U. C. 867^e, it would apply alike to a departure any time in that year after Jan. 27*.

* Dionysius Areopagita, *Opera* i. 565. *De Divinis Nominibus*, cap. iv. §. 12. had taken oc-

casione to observe: *καίτοι ἔδοξε τισι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερολόγων, καὶ θεϊότερον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ὄνομα,*

^y Hadrianus, 3.

^z Dio, lxxviii. 15. Cf. lxxviii. 7.

^a Dio, lxxviii. 16.

^b vi. 430.

^c vi. 454.

^d Eckhel, vi. 438.

^e *Ibid.* 430, 431.

τοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης. γράφει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰγνάτιος, Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται: words which occur in his Epistle to the Romans, cap. vii. Patres Apostolici, 868. C.

From this allusion, as was natural, those who suspected the genuineness of the works ascribed to Dionysius, had derived a strong argument to convict them of falsely laying claim to that title: because the real Dionysius could never have been contemporary with Ignatius, or lived after his martyrdom and the publication of his Epistle to the Romans.

Maximus, the strenuous champion of the Pseudo-Dionysius, replies to this objection as follows, p. 613: καὶ ἐκ τούτου (the words produced above) τινὲς οἴονται διαβάλλειν εὐκαίρως τὸ παρὸν σύνταγμα, ὡς μὴ ὂν τοῦ θείου Διονυσίου, ἐπειδὴ Ἰγνάτιον λέγουσι μεταγενέστερον αὐτοῦ εἶναι· πῶς δὲ δύναται τις τῶν μεταγενεστέρων μεμνησθαι; πλάσμα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς· ὁ γὰρ ἅγιος Παῦλος, ὁ φωτίσας Διονύσιον, μεταγενέστερος ἦν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου, μεθ' ὃν ὁ Ἰγνάτιος ἐπίσκοπος γίνεται Ἀντιοχείας, μετατεθέντος Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ· ἐπέζησε δὲ ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος χρόνον πολλόν, φωτίσας Διονύσιον, καὶ Διονύσιος μετ' αὐτὸν ἔζησεν. ὁ δὲ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ ἐξορίζεται εἰς Πάτμον, ᾧ ἀντιγράφει Διονύσιος. Ἰγνάτιος δὲ πρὸ Δομετιανοῦ μαρτυρεῖ, ὥστε προγενέστερος Διονυσίου.

We need not stop to inquire how far this statement is consistent with the ecclesiastical tradition, that the second bishop of Antioch, even reckoning St. Peter the first, was Evodius, not Ignatius; for Origen also, *Operum* iii. 938. A. in *Lucam* Homilia vi. either makes, or appears to make,

a similar statement, from whom Maximus might borrow it: Unde eleganter in cujusdam martyris epistola scriptum reperi, Ignatium dico, episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundum, . . . Principem sæculi hujus latuit virginitas Mariæ; unless we understand these words exclusively of Peter. See the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, vii. 46. 327. A. and Eusebius, *E. H.* iii. 22. It is sufficient to observe upon it, that while it solves the objection in question with respect to Dionysius' being more ancient than Ignatius, yet making mention of him, it gives up the authority of the *Acta*, by making the latter suffer before, not after, the reign of Domitian. Maximus must have thought that he suffered under Nero. Yet as if dissatisfied with his own explanation, he proposes a conjecture shortly after, that, perhaps, the reference to Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans, might have been originally a marginal annotation of some learned reader, in illustration of the remark upon the Divine love; which afterwards crept into the text; as, he says, had often been the case in other instances.

This same objection to the genuineness of the works ascribed to Dionysius was considered in the treatise described by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex i. p. 1: of Theodorus the presbyter—who wrote expressly to vindicate the genuineness of the works in question, against four principal objections—first, that none of the Fathers, more immediately after Dionysius, mentions his works; secondly, that Eusebius is silent about them; thirdly, that they give an account of tra-

ditions and customs much later than the time of Dionysius; fourthly, that they quote one of the Epistles of Ignatius.

We may further observe upon this subject, that in the next chapter of the same work of the Pseudo-Dionysius, §. 9. p. 696. a reference occurs to Clement the philosopher; which Maxi-

mus, Scholia, p. 715, understands of Clement mentioned in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: but which was much more probably intended of Clemens Alexandrinus: though as to the absurdity of supposing Dionysius the Areopagite a contemporary of Clement of Alexandria, that is self-evident.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XXI.

On the Chronology of the Epistles of Pliny.

I HAVE asserted in the preceding Dissertation that the Epistles of Pliny succeed each other in a sufficiently regular order; in support of which assertion, I shall perhaps be excused if I devote the following pages to the discussion of their chronology.

An objection, it is true, to the supposition in question, meets us *in limine*; for the first Epistle in the collection, which, under ordinary circumstances, might be regarded as introductory or prefatory to the whole, tells us the letters were put together, *Non servato temporis ordine sed ut quæque in manus venerat*. But this statement is not to be too literally construed; or else we must come to the conclusion that even accident brought the letters to hand in something like a regular order: for that a general regularity does prevail among them, appears from the following instances, which the internal evidence of the letters themselves very probably proves to have been consecutively written and published.

Lib. i. 5. ii. 11, 20. iv. 2. 7. vi. 2—i. 6. ix. 10—i. 7. iii. 4. 9. vi. 29. vii. 33—i. 8. iv. 13. v. 7. vii. 18—i. 12. iv. 17. vii. 11. 14. 31. ix. 13—i. 22. v. 3. viii. 14—ii. 7. iii. 1. 10. iv. 27—ii. 6. viii. 23—ii. 1. vi. 10. ix. 19—ii. 11, 12. vi. 29. x. 20—ii. 13. x. 3—iii. 5. v. 8—iii. 4. 9. vi. 29—iii. 16. vii. 19—iii. 13. 18—iii. 20. iv. 25—iv. 3. 18. 27. v. 10—iv. 8. ix. 19—iv. 9. vi. 29—iv. 14. v. 3. vii. 4—v. 4. 14—v. 20. vi. 5. 13.

29. vii. 6. 10—vi. 4. 7. vii. 5—vi. 6. 9—vi. 11. 29. vii. 24. ix. 13—vi. 15. ix. 22—vi. 16. 20—vi. 22. vii. 16. 23. 32. ix. 5—vii. 7. 8. 15—vii. 29. viii. 6—viii. 10, 11. 19—viii. 16. 19—ix. 21. 24—ix. 6. 23—ix. 15, 16. 20. 28—ix. 36. 40—ix. 37. 39.

Beginning in U. C. 849, immediately after the death of Domitian, September 18, in that year, the times and order of the several Epistles from i. 1. to ii. 9, may easily be traced down to the autumnal quarter of U. C. 850. But at this point of time an hiatus is found to occur, which extends from U. C. 850 *exeunte*, to U. C. 852 *exeunte*, at least. The fact of this hiatus may be thus established.

Lib. ii. 11, 12, gives an account of the accusation of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa; in which Pliny and Tacitus were the advocates of the people of the province. The cause was tried in the month of January, before the princeps or emperor; who was consul at the time, and presided in the senate. That this emperor was not Nerva, but Trajan, appears from x. 20, a letter addressed to Trajan, in which Pliny, who at this time was præfectus ærarii, and therefore otherwise engaged by the duties of his office, requests the emperor's approbation of his having consented to become the advocate of the province. It is evident, then, that there was now no emperor but Trajan; and consequently that the cause was heard in January, U. C. 853, which is the first year when Trajan appears as consul ex Kal. Jan. after the decease of Nerva*.

This conclusion is further confirmed by the mention of Julius Ferox, and Cornutus Tertullus, in the course of the account; each in the capacity of consul designatus at the time. The former was consul suff. ex Kal.

* Cf. the Panegyricus, cap. lxxvi. and xcv. 1, 2.

Nov. and the latter was so, in conjunction with Pliny himself, ex Kal. Sept. this very year, U. C. 853.

It appears from iii. 9. sect. 2–5, and vi. 29. sect. 8, 9, that when proceedings were instituted against Marius Priscus by the Afri, a like accusation was commenced by the people of Hispania Bætica against their former governor Cæcilius Classicus: and that Pliny was engaged to advocate this cause as well as the other. We have an account of this affair in iii. 4. and 9: the former, an epistle written just after Pliny had consented to plead the cause of the province, the latter, another written just after the proceedings in it were over. The time when the Bætici applied to him is intimated in the following words, iii. 4. sect. 2: *Quum publicum opus mea pecunia inchoaturus in Tuscos excurrissem, accepto, ut præfectus ærarii, commeatu; legati provinciæ Bætici, questuri de proconsulatu Cæcili Classicus, advocatum me a senatu petierunt.* If the reader will turn to x. 24. he will find, if I mistake not, the very letter in which Pliny applies to Trajan for the leave of absence in question, from the duties of his office as præfectus ærarii*. This leave of absence was to be for a month, beginning on the first of the September ensuing; and it was requested in order that Pliny might visit and let his estates in the country, 150 miles distant from Rome; as well as for the sake of the publicum opus above mentioned†.

* It appears from the Panegyricus, 60. and 59, that Trajan was absent in the first part of U. C. 852: but from 63. sect. 1, that he was returned to Rome by the time of the comitia—the time of which, as we may collect from Panegyricus, 77, 78. 92. 95. sect. 2, was probably August—before at least the month of September; such being the case with

them, U. C. 853. Pliny's letter, x. 24, was probably written before the emperor's return to Rome, U. C. 852.

† This publicum opus, I apprehend, was the temple spoken of x. 24. and iv. 1, when it was now ready to be dedicated; a temple built by Pliny at Tifernum Tiberinum, a town of Umbria, on the Tiber, close by

It thus appears, that Pliny was applied to by the Afri and by the Bætici, to plead their cause against their respective proconsuls, in the latter half of U. C. 852; and did actually plead each of these causes in the early part of U. C. 853, when he was still præfectus ærarii, and consul designatus also *. Cf. Panegyricus, xcii.

On the supposition, then, of the regularity of the Epistles from i. 1—ii. 9, an hiatus occurs between the time of ii. 9. and that of ii. 11, of nearly two years in extent. It may be conjectured from x. 4. 6. vii. 1. sect. 4—7. x. 24. sect. 3, that the causes of this interruption in the continuity of the series, were first a severe illness, which Pliny himself sustained within this period; secondly, the increasing indisposition of the emperor Nerva; and thirdly, the duties of the office of præfectus ærarii; to which he was appointed in the lifetime of Nerva, and before his own sickness, but the functions and avocations of which seem to have exclusively engaged his time and attention after his recovery†. See i. 10. sect. 9: x. 20. sect. 1. 24. sect. 3.

his villa called Tusci. The same was at least 150 miles from Rome; and not much out of the way to Pliny's hereditary *rura* Trans Padum, or at Novum Comum in Insubria. Cf. iv. 1. sect. 3, 4. and vii. 16. sect. 3.

* Besides his action against Cæcilius Classicus, Pliny sometime pleaded the cause of the Bætici against Bæbius Massa: §. vii. 33. and 4. 9, shews that this was before the accession of Nerva. Hence it must have happened before the date of i. 7, in which, §. 2. 5. there is an allusion to some such fact. iii. 4. sect. 6, also, implies that it happened in the time of Domitian. Cf. vi. 29.

sect. 7, 8.

† It may be collected, I think, from the Panegyricus, 90. sect. 6, that Pliny and Cornutus Tertullus were both appointed præfecti ærarii by Nerva; and from x. 20. 24, by Trajan also; that is, that both emperors concurred in their appointment—which would be the case, if it took place any time after Trajan's adoption, the latter half of U. C. 850. Cf. Panegyricus, 8. 10. 20—23. 56, 57.

It appears from Panegyricus, 91. §. 1. 92, that they were both designed consuls, while still præfecti ærarii, before two years of their office were completed: and

It is not improbable, then, that he wrote no letters during this interval of time, or none which he thought it worth while to preserve.

The rest of the Epistles in the first three books, from ii. 12—iii. 21, might all be shewn, very probably, to come within this same year U. C. 853 : ending at the usual time of the comitia, the latter half of the year. Cf. iii. 20.

Between the close of the third book, however, and the commencement of the fourth, another hiatus is found to occur, which, in my opinion, extends from U. C. 853, *exeunte*, to the middle of U. C. 856.

The first letter in the fourth book is addressed to Pliny's prosocer, that is, his wife's grandfather, Fabatus ; telling him that his granddaughter and himself, post longum tempus, were coming to pay him a visit in the country : his residence being in the vicinity of Pliny's native place, Circa lacum Larium. It was Pliny's usual practice to make these visits into the country, and at such a distance from Rome, in the summer or autumn.

This is the first time that a letter occurs in the collection, addressed to Pliny's wife's grandfather, though many occur afterwards. Yet he had been sometime married to his granddaughter. Pliny was either twice married, or thrice* : and he lost his first or his second

that they were designed consuls at a time when Trajan himself was present. We may suppose that they were appointed to the office of chancellors of the exchequer, U. C. 850, *ab auctumno* ; and were designed consuls about the same time, U. C. 852.

* Whether Pliny was twice married or thrice, depends on the construction of x. 2. sect. 2 : Eoque magis liberos concupisco ;

quos habere etiam illo tristissimo seculo volui, sicut potes duobus matrimoniis meis credere. If sicut potes, &c. is referred to volui, he was twice married before the reign of Trajan ; if to concupisco, once. Even the former supposition is possible, as Pliny (vi. 20. sect. 5.) was 18, U. C. 832, and therefore 35, U. C. 849.

wife, as we learn from ix. 13. sect. 4, about the time when he undertook the action against the accuser of Helvidius Priscus. This was either U. C. 849 *exeunte*, or U. C. 850 *ineunte*—Cf. ix. 13. sect. 13, where the names of several persons are mentioned as consules designati at the time, the first of whom appears in office ex Kal. Jul. U. C. 850. There is no allusion to any subsequent marriage, in the first three books; which extend, as we have supposed, down to U. C. 853 *exeunte*. Nor can it well be considered to have happened in the interval, before established, between U. C. 850 and U. C. 852. The sickness of Pliny, and the engagements of his various offices, are inconsistent with such a supposition. Yet we may infer from x. 2, a letter written to thank Trajan for granting him the privilege *trium liberorum*, that he was recently married at that time; and might have had that privilege conceded to him in consequence of his marriage itself. If so, his marriage was not long after the beginning of the reign of Trajan. One event, then, of the second period passed over in silence by the letters, may be the marriage of Pliny, U. C. 854 or 855.

The eighth epistle in the fourth book is in answer to one, who had written to congratulate Pliny on being appointed augur in the room of Julius Frontinus, recently deceased. The eighth of the tenth book is addressed to Trajan, to ask the favour of this appointment, or of that of the *Septemviratus*; both, as it is said, being then vacant, and no doubt, by the death of the same Frontinus. The ninth of the tenth book congratulates Trajan on a certain victory; which, we may presume, must have been obtained in the Dacian war: and was very probably the victory historically related by Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 8. as the last event in the first Dacian war, and followed soon after by the submis-

sion of Decebalus. The time of this fact was U. C. 855 or 856. The proximity of the two epistles in question is presumptively an argument that the death of Frontinus, which made a vacancy in the Auguratus, and Pliny's application to be appointed in his stead, were nearly synchronous with the close of the first Dacian war, U. C. 855 or 856*.

It is a remarkable circumstance that, though this war began in U. C. 854, and was not over for the first time until U. C. 856†, when Trajan celebrated his first triumphus Dacicus; there is no allusion to it in the first nine books of the letters. The first extant allusion to the wars in Dacia occurs vi. 27. sect. 5. under the general name of Trajan's Recentia opera; in answer to an inquiry from Severus, a friend of Pliny's, Quid designatus consul in honorem principis censeret. These recentia opera imply no less than the exploits of both the Dacian wars: and especially the celebrated bridge over the Danube, a work of the second war, as Dio shews, lxxviii. 13, most probably in U. C. 858. This epistle, then, was later than the close of the second war. There is also, at vi. 31. sect. 8, an allusion to something which happened when the emperor was in Dacia; though that epistle too, as I apprehend, was written after the conclusion of both wars. Lib. viii. 4. in a letter written to one Caninius, Pliny congratulates him on having selected the Bellum Dacicum, as the subject of an epic poem, which he was projecting; enumerating among its other topics of an extraordinary

* Julius Frontinus, who thus appears to have died U. C. 855 or 856, was commanding in Britain, a little before Agricola was appointed to that province, U. C. 831. See Tacitus, Vita Agricolaë, 17. His death is alluded to, ix. 19. §. 1. 6.

† It is clearly to be collected from Spartian, Hadrianus, 3, that the first war began, Trajano iv. and Articuleio Coss. U. C. 854; and the second, about Candido ii. et Quadrato ii. Coss. U. C. 858.

character, *Novos pontes fluminibus injectos . . . pulsum regia, pulsum etiam vita, regem nihil desperantem . . . actos bis triumphos, quorum alter ex invicta gente primus, alter novissimus fuit.* This epistle then is later than U. C. 859, the close of the second Dacian contest.

If the fact of this fresh hiatus in the chronological series of the epistles, be thus presumptively made out ; the reason of it may be ascribed partly to Pliny's marriage, an event of that period, and partly and chiefly to the intervention of the first Dacian war, which just fills up the chasm in question, beginning U. C. 854, and ending U. C. 856. This was a war of great difficulty and danger, as may be collected even from the imperfect account of it, which Xiphilinus has preserved from Dio. Whether Pliny was personally engaged in it along with Trajan, I cannot undertake to say. There is a letter of his, at x. 11, written to Trajan in behalf of Rosianus Geminus, who had been his quæstor during his consulship ; in which he expresses an hope that he had recommended himself to the emperor's notice, not only *Ex honoribus quos in urbe sub oculis ejus gesserat, verum etiam ex commilitio.* The war here alluded to is most probably the first Dacian war. But this letter implies that Pliny did not personally attend upon the emperor during it. Still the public mind in Rome must have continued in great suspense until it was over ; and the absence of Trajan from Italy might impose so much the more of the cares and responsibility of office upon those whom he left with the charge of affairs behind him ; of whom Pliny would very probably be one. The letters then which he might write during this period would probably be few ; and not considerable enough to be preserved or published.

The general regularity of the letters, however, from iv. 1. to the end of the ninth book, is easily to be made out; beginning U. C. 856, and proceeding uninterruptedly to U. C. 862, where I think they expire.

The accusation of Bassus, which is related iv. 9, and is generally referred to at vi. 29, if we may argue from the analogy of the cases of Priscus and Cæcilius, would be instituted at the time of his return from his province, in the latter half of the year; which might be the latter half of U. C. 856 itself. It is true, that a Bæbius Macer is called consul designatus at the time, iv. 9. sect. 16, who yet appears in the *Fasti Almeloveeniani*, ex Kal. Maiis, U. C. 854. But the authenticity of the *Fasti* in these subdivisions of the consular year, is not always to be depended on: nor, besides, is it impossible that Macer might be consul once in U. C. 854, and again in U. C. 857*.

The case of Marcellinus, related in iv. 12, furnishes internal evidence that Cæsar, or Trajan, was in Rome at the time. But this case was brought before him and the senate, on the return of Marcellinus from his province; and therefore it might come on, U. C. 856, *exeunte*, when Trajan was certainly returned for the first time from Dacia, and yet not gone thither again, for the second.

Lib. iv. 17. sect. 1. a Caius Cæcilius is mentioned as consul elect when Pliny undertook the cause of Corellia the daughter of his friend Corellius, to whom i. 12, and other epistles, relate. No Caius Cæcilius appears

* The colleague of this Macer, ex Kal. Maiis U. C. 854, is represented as Valerius Paullinus. A Valerius Paullinus is mentioned in this same account, iv. 9. sect. 20: but not as consul designatus. Moreover, Cæpio Hispo is often mentioned in the

same account, but not as consul designatus: who yet is probably the same person who appears consul, ex Kal. Jul. U. C. 854 also; under the name of Cælius Hispo. No Cælius Hispo is mentioned in the *Epistles of Pliny*.

in the Fasti, except C. Cæcilius Classicus*, ex Kal. Jul. U. C. 855. But the Cæcilius here alluded to may be Cæcilius Strabo, mentioned iv. 12. sect. 4, when the affair of Marcellinus was pending; and so mentioned as to imply that both he and Bæbius Macer, also mentioned, were consules designati at the time. This epistle then may bear date either U. C. 856 *exeunte*, or before Cæcilius' turn of office, U. C. 857.

Lib. iv. 22. sect. 1. Pliny says he had just been present as one of the emperor's privy council, when the cause relating to the suppression of the Gymnicus agon apud Viennenses, by one of their duumviri or municipal consuls, was tried before him. As this cause was brought on by that magistrate's going out of office, it might be tried U. C. 857, before Trajan again took the field on his second Dacian expedition. And it is a singular coincidence that though the emperor was in Italy at the time of this discussion, in the beginning of the year, he does not appear to have been so, at the time of the Comitia, much later in the year. See iv. 25. sect. 2.†

Lib. v. 4 and 14, both relate to the case of Nominatus: which was tried before the senate, as 14. sect. 7, 8. proves, in the absence of Trajan. The time of them,

* Cæcilius Classicus, accused by the Afri, U. C. 852, died before the cause was tried, U. C. 853: see iii. 4. §. 7: 9. §. 5. 13.

† The internal evidence of iv. 23, proves that Pliny, when he wrote it, was considerably less than 60 (see sect. 3, 4), yet, compared with iv. 24. 1—5, that he was much above the age of *juvenis*. The time of these Epistles was probably U. C. 857, when Pliny was 42 or 43. He refers to that action, before the centumviri, mentioned at the

outset of iv. 24, also i. 18. sect. 3: whence it appears it took place in the time of Domitian, and when Pliny was *adolescens*. Lib. v. 8. sect. 8, he began to plead at 19, U. C. 833 (see vi. 20. §. 5,) and he was 30, the age when men began to be considered *juvenes*, U. C. 844 or 845, four or five years before the death of Domitian. Between that time and U. C. 857, many such changes might take place, as he comments upon in iv. 24.

on the supposition of their regularity, cannot be earlier than U. C. 858, *medio*, when the Dacian war was not quite over, or Trajan not yet returned from it. Yet Afranius Dexter is mentioned, 14. sect. 4, as consul elect; who appears in the Fasti, as consul suff. ex Kal. Oct. U. C. 851. But in U. C. 850 or 851, Trajan would have been on the spot, or Nerva have been emperor and present. Besides which, an Afranius Dexter, who is styled consul, was either killed by his servants, or committed suicide, apparently in his year of office, as related viii. 14. sect. 12—yet the inquiry into his death was going on, viii. 14, at a period later than viii. 4; which last is after the conclusion of the second Dacian war. I cannot believe these letters are so much out of place; and will rather suppose that the Fasti are in error, or that Afranius was consul more than once, or that a different Afranius Dexter is meant in each of these instances.

Lib. v. 15: when this Epistle was written, Pliny was enjoying the retirement of the country, as he commonly did towards the end of the summer quarter*; and he had just heard that his friend Cornutus Tertullus had been appointed to the care of the Via Æmilia. It appears too from sect. 2, that some similar office had lately been conferred on Pliny: which naturally brings to his recollection that they had been colleagues In

* From sect. 1–8, it seems this retirement was at Pliny's municipium; whether Comum or Tifernum is doubtful. From v. 6. sect. 1. 45, 46. I should apprehend that it was the latter, near to his Villa apud Tuscos. v. 15. sect. 9, he had but a stated time of absence allowed him; which implies that he was in an office of some kind or other, at the time—the nature of which will be explained by and by.

Lib. v. 14, containing the conclusion of the affair of Nominatus, was written from the country as I should suppose; sometime after it was over.

Pliny's prosocer was with him at the time of v. 15: and it appears from viii. 20. sect. 3, that this prosocer had estates at Ameria, in Umbria, on the way to Pliny's Tusci. Cf. however, iv. 1. §. 3, 4. and vii. 16. §. 3: 23: 32.

præfectura ærarii, et in consulatu. Of this, however, it is clear that he speaks as of something which had happened a long time before.

Now I think we may perceive, in these allusions, a reference to the time specified by Dio, lxviii. 15, 7, when works of such a description as the repair of roads, the draining of marshes, the excavation of harbours, and the like, were generally undertaken. He shews the time of one of these works, the construction of the highway through the Pontine marshes, which Trajan himself undertook, to have followed soon on the close of the second Dacian war; consequently not earlier than U. C. 859 or 860*. It is a remarkable coincidence that, when Pliny paid a visit to Trajan at Centumcellæ, as related vi. 31. sect. 15–17, a port was actually in the process of formation, to be called after its author, Portus Trajani. The time of v. 15, I should consider to be about U. C. 858, *medium*—and that of vi. 31, to be about U. C. 860, *medium*.

Lib. v. 20. vi. 5. 13. 29. vii. 6. 10, all relate, as we saw in the preceding Dissertation, to the case of Varenus. To judge from the place of v. 20, in the order of the Epistles, the commencement of this suit would be U. C. 858 *exeunte*. The first thing done, as we learn from v. 20. vi. 5, was to decide upon the pre-

* Lib. viii. 17. sect. 2, the time of which I date about the autumnal quarter of U. C. 861, describing an inundation of the Tiber, speaks of a foss or drain to carry off the water, as a precaution which the care of the emperor had previously adopted, to obviate such contingencies.

From Gruter, 454. 3, and 1028. 5, it appears that Pliny himself was Curator alvei Tybe-

ris, et riparum: and this, I think, was the office, by holding of which he speaks of himself as sometime or other associated with Cornutus^a. He styles Cornutus his *colleague*, in some sense or other, either because he formerly had been so, or still was—vii. 21. sect. 1; in a letter written, as I should date it, U. C. 860. *medio*.

^a I should consider the *Commeatus*, or leave of absence alluded to v. 15. §. 9. to be from the duties of this office; to which Pliny must consequently have been appointed before U. C. 858 *medium*.

liminary question, whether time should be allowed to Varenus, for the summoning of witnesses from Bithynia, *Evocare testes ex Bithynia*. This is the subject of the first two letters. In the meanwhile Pliny visited the country, and wrote the letter, vi. 10, relating to Verginius' monument, *Post decimum mortis annum*; the very meaning of which phrase, as referred to the spring of U. C. 850, implies that the letter in question was written either U. C. 860, or U. C. 859, in the spring or summer season. The course of events hitherto determines that it was the spring or summer of U. C. 859, in the tenth year current from the death of Verginius. There can be no doubt that the allusion to the tomb of Verginius, in the midst of the proceedings about Varenus, is chronologically exact: for the same subject is resumed at ix. 19—a letter produced by vi. 10, written in the midst of the same proceedings.

The case is resumed at vi. 13; which shews that the plaintiffs, instead of acquiescing in the late decision of the senate, had appealed to the emperor, *then* absent: and by him had again been referred to the senate. This appeal and the answer to it would be made and received before the middle of U. C. 859: when Trajan was actually in Dacia.

The question was discussed *de novo* in the senate, and again decided in favour of Varenus: which decision settled the dispute for a time. But as Varenus had thus to fetch witnesses and other documents from Bithynia, he could not want less than six months, or a year for that purpose: so that if the affair was left pending at this point of time, U. C. 859 *medio*, we should not expect to hear more of it before U. C. 860, *ineuntem*.

In the mean time, we have an allusion at vi. 19. to the comitia, when, as appears from sect. 3, Trajan was

somewhere at hand : and, vi. 22, there is an account of the case of Bruttianus and Atticinus, which was decided before the emperor in person. These are plain indications of a time when Trajan was returned to Rome, after the conclusion of the Dacian war, U. C. 859, at least.

We have next the letter to Severus, consul elect, vi. 27, containing the allusion to Trajan's *recentia opera* : and at vi. 29, sect. 11, among other celebrated causes, in which Pliny at different times had been engaged, his defence of Varenus is spoken of as the most recent. Dixi proxime pro Vareno, postulante ut sibi invicem vocare testes liceret ; adding—impetratum est : which shews that the matter was then slumbering at the point of time, where we left it.

After this, at vi. 31. sect. 1, we have Pliny's visit to Centumcellæ, as part of the concilium of Trajan ; when the Dacian war, sect. 8, was over, and the time of the year, sect. 15, was spring or summer. I think we are justified in supposing this the spring or summer of U. C. 860 : which is a curious refutation of the Acta Ignatii ; insomuch as it thus appears that Trajan instead of being in Antioch, U. C. 860, was at Centumcellæ*, or Civita Vecchia, taking the country air, and deciding causes with Pliny in his company.

The cause of Varenus is resumed, vii. 6, with the arrival of deputies from Bithynia, to announce that the prosecution of the suit against him was abandoned, and to bring various decrees of the province to that effect, addressed to different persons. These deputies could not arrive before the spring or summer quarter of U. C. 860. When they arrived, the emperor was

* Of Centumcellæ, in his own time, A. D. 538 or 539, Procopius, De Bello Gotthico, ii. 7. 175. l. 13, writes thus : ἔστι δὲ ἡ

πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἐς τὰ Ῥώμης πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν Τούσκοις κειμένη, σταδίοις αὐτῆς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίοις ἀπέχουσα.

not at Rome: and we have seen that about this time he was in Campania. Though some further difficulties were raised, yet the final adjustment of the question is related in the same Book, vii. 10, as taking place before the emperor himself, and consequently in the senate at Rome. After this, we hear no more of it: and it is manifest that the time of the conclusion of the suit must have been where the order and succession of the epistles would otherwise have placed it—about the middle of U. C. 860—having lasted upwards of a year and six months.

It was mentioned, v. 20. sect. 1, at the outset of the proceedings in question, that the Bithynians had asked and obtained the advantage of the services of Varenus, in their suit against Bassus. In the account of that suit, iv. 9, no such name occurs as that of Varenus Rufus, or Rufus Varenus. Pomponius Rufus, it is said, sect. 3, *egit contra eum*. But Pomponius Rufus is not necessarily the same as Varenus Rufus.*

If Varenus succeeded immediately to Bassus in the government of the province, it is probable that the Bithynians, who were about to institute a suit against the late proconsul, would request from the senate the patronage and assistance of his successor; who would obviously have it in his power very materially to forward or to impede the progress of their cause, as he thought proper. In this case, Varenus succeeded to Bassus, U. C. 856.

The province of Bithynia was originally a proconsular one. See Dio, liii. 12. But, at this time, it was imperial; for Pliny was sent out thither by Trajan, and so was Coelius Clemens, after him: x. 12. We

* Nor is it said that the Bithyni requested his services, iv. 9, §. 3. Nor is Varenus ever called Pomponius, or Pomponius Varenus, by Pliny.

may suppose, then, that the governors of it were allowed respectively a two years' term of office; first, because such was the standing rule with regard to the *αἵρετοὶ*, or deputies of the emperor, as might be proved in a multitude of instances; secondly, because Bassus, the predecessor of Varenus, seems to have been *two* years in office; as we may infer from the decree of the senate, rescinding his acta, alluded to in the preceding dissertation*; thirdly, because the same thing appears also to hold good of Calvus, who banished, as we likewise observed above, a certain number of persons *in triennium*; that is, as we may presume, for half the term of his own government, and the whole of that of his successor—or vice versa: but chiefly, because Pliny himself was two years in office. Nor can this be shewn to have been a special indulgence in his instance; and not rather to have been matter of course. It does, indeed, appear from his correspondence with Trajan, that he was selected to fill the office of governor, Quoniam multa in ea provincia emendanda apparuissent, x. 41; but no such reason is any where assigned for his being continued two years in office.

Varenus, then, succeeding to Bassus U. C. 856 *medio*, would be superseded U. C. 858 *medio*: at which time, as we have seen, proceedings against him were actually instituted by the province†.

There is no difficulty in tracing the times of the

* Cf. iv. 9. sect. 7. whence it may very probably be inferred that Bassus celebrated his birthday, the Saturnalia, &c. more than once in the province, during his government of it.

† It is true, that at the commencement of the proceedings, v. 20. sect. 6. Acilius Rufus is mentioned as consul elect: and that Man. Acilius Rufus occurs

in the Fasti, ex Kal. Jul. U. C. 855. But this may be a different person; or, as we have supposed in other instances, Acilius Rufus might be more than once consul. The same Acilius is mentioned again, vi. 13. sect. 5: but neither as consul elect, nor consul; though the date of this latter letter was probably near the middle of U. C. 859.

letters, from vii. 11. U. C. 860 *medio*, to viii. 7. sect. 1, where an allusion occurs to the Saturnalia as going on, and Pliny was in the country. From ix. 36, and 40, it appears to have been his rule to spend the summer or autumn apud Tuscos, and the depth of winter in his Laurentinum. The above note of time brings us to the end of U. C. 860.

The course of succession in the Epistles may be traced from viii. 8. to viii. 15—17, which contain clear intimations that they were written in the autumnal season, when the vintage was ready, when great sickness was prevailing in the country, and when there had lately been unusually high floods in the Tyber. This autumn I should consider to be the autumn of U. C. 861.

There is no difficulty in this supposition, except what arises from viii. 14; a letter written to consult a friend of Pliny's, Aristo, upon a point of order connected with a motion recently made by him in the senate, sect. 1. This motion concerned the case of the liberti of Afranius Dexter, sect. 12; and they are spoken of as the liberti of Afranius Dexter *consulis*, which certainly implies that he was consul at the time of his death. Afranius Dexter was mentioned, as we saw, v. 14. sect. 4, by the title of consul designatus, at a time which coincided with U. C. 858. He might be actually consul suffectus, in the course of the same year. In this case, it is not impossible that he might again be in office, U. C. 861; for which year no consuls appear in the Fasti, but Gallus and Bradua, ex Kal. Jan. and Africanus and Crispinus, ex Kal. Mar. Afranius Dexter's turn of office would probably come later in the year, ex Kal. Maiis, or ex Kal. Juliis.

From viii. 17, in the autumn of U. C. 861, we might proceed to viii. 21. sect. 2, 3, when Pliny was in urbe, mense Julio; which would thus be in July, U. C. 862.

After this, we may go on to ix. 6. (Cf. 23,) the time of some ludi circenses; to ix. 10, when it was summer; and to ix. 15, 16. 20. 28. §. 2. the vintage season of the same year, U. C. 862; and so to the end of the book.

I will observe only that ix. 5, is addressed to Caesarius Tiro, when he had been some time governor of Bætica; to which office, it appears from vi. 22. sect. 7, he was already assigned by lot, at the time of the decision of the case of Bruttianus and Atticinus, U. C. 859 *exeunte*; and whither he was on his way, when Pliny wrote vii. 16. 23. 32, all, as we have supposed, U. C. 860 *medio*. Hispania Bætica was certainly a senatorian province; and the governors of such provinces were commonly annual. But between vii. 16, and ix. 5, we assumed a two years' interval; and the assumption is not improbable; for even the *κληρωτοὶ* were sometimes continued two years in office. There could not, at least, be much less than one year's interval between the departure of Tiro, and Pliny's letter, written to congratulate him on his justice and affability in office. Yet possibly this letter may be misplaced: for though I contend for the general regularity of these Epistles, I do not maintain that every letter is chronologically in its proper place.

Lib. ix. 37, is written to one Paullinus, to excuse Pliny for not being at Rome, among the other friends of Paullinus, on the first day of his consular term of office: especially, says he, *Quum me necessitas locandorum prædiorum, plures annos ordinatura, detineat*: in qua, as he continues, *mihi nova consilia sumenda sunt. nam priore lustro, quamquam post magnas remissiones, reliqua creverunt*.

It is clear from this letter that Pliny was now in the country, engaged in letting out his estates. There are numerous epistles, which prove that he always did

this in the autumnal quarter of the year*: in which case, his friend Paullinus' term of office must have borne date in some autumnal month; which is enough to shew that the letter was not written U. C. 854, when a Valerius Paullinus appears as cons. suff. ex Kal. Maiis, along with Bæbius Macer.

If we turn to x. 24, the letter before quoted, in which Pliny desires from Trajan a month's absence, beginning September 1, from his duties as præfectus ærarii, we find him assigning this reason, among others, for asking the indulgence in question: Agrorum enim, quos in eadem regione possideo (he means his hereditary estates at Tusci) locatio, quum alioqui cccc excedat, adeo non potest differri, ut proximam putationem novus colonus facere debeat. præterea continuæ sterilitates cogunt me de remissionibus cogitare: quarum rationem nisi præsens inire non possum. The time of this application was U. C. 852.†

It was usual for individual landowners to let their estates for the lustral term of five years at a time. Pliny's locatio, on which he was employed when he wrote to Paullinus, was plures annos ordinatura, and he speaks of one lustrum as just passed; implying that he was about to renew his leases for another.

Now, in his letter to Trajan, he speaks of the probability of his being obliged to lower his rents; in this to Paullinus, he speaks of his actually having done so,

* The autumn was the time when almost all persons retired into the country from Rome. See Horace, Epp. i. vii. Cf. the Opera Inedita of Fronto, Epp. ad Antoninum, xii. p. 31, and ad Marcum, ii. vii. p. 76, 77.

† It illustrates the fact of these continuæ sterilitates, spoken of U. C. 852, that (Panegyricus, capp. 30-32) Egypt, at the

time of the accession of Trajan, and for some while longer, in consequence of excessive droughts, and the Nile's not rising as usual, was obliged to be supported from Rome. Yet by the time the Panegyricus was pronounced, (Sept. U. C. 853,) a change had ensued. Ægypto quidem sæpe, sed gloriæ nostræ nunquam largior fluxit (Nilus). Cf. cap. 32.

on the last occasion before he wrote. We may presume, then, that the latter epistle was written a certain number of years later than the former, not less than five, and possibly as many as ten. If the former, then, bore date U. C. 852, *ex auctumno*, this must bear date U. C. 857, or U. C. 862, *ex auctumno* also. Between these years, we cannot hesitate to fix upon U. C. 862, in which year the epistles of the ninth book, as far as we have seen, are all brought to a conclusion.

As the practice of individuals in disposing of their property to tenants for periods of lustra, or five years, at a time, was founded on that of the censors and the publicani*, in their locationes of the public property in general; we may expect to find that each of these years, U. C. 852, 857, 862, was, or should have been, a regular lustral year as such. Refer any of them back to U. C. 827, when, according to Censorinus, the last lustrum conditum took place in the reign of Vespasian; and this will actually appear to be the case.

As Pliny shewed in his letter to Trajan, written U. C. 852 *ex auctumno*, that his property trans Padum did not answer his expectations; so, ii. xv. sect. 2, in another letter, written, as I have supposed, U. C. 853, he observes, *Me prædia materna parum commode tractant*: a very natural complaint, if only the year before he had been obliged to make great reductions in his rents. These *prædia materna* were in the same quarter, or *Circa lacum Larium*: see vii. 11. sect. 5. There is a similar reference to the *temporum iniquitas*, and the consequent diminution in the rents of lands, at iii. 19. sect. 7, in a letter written concerning the purchase of an estate, which lay most probably near Pliny's patrimonial possessions.

Lib. vii. 30. sect. 3, 4, the time of which, as I sup-

* Cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, v. p. 54.

pose, is the summer quarter of U. C. 860, Pliny was at some of his estates in the country, most probably apud Tuscos: and he observes, that in addition to other causes of interruption, *Accedunt querelæ rusticorum, qui auribus meis post longum tempus suo jure abutuntur. instat et necessitas agrorum locandorum perquam molesta. adeo rarum est invenire idoneos conductores.* The same occasion, as I think, is alluded to viii. 2, the whole of which is taken up with the account of his audit of the farmers to whom he had let his vindemiæ, or the produce of his vineyards; furnishing a practical illustration of the truth of those remissions, which he told his friend Paullinus he was obliged from time to time to make. And hence, that *necessitas agrorum locandorum*, alluded to vii. 30, may mean no more than the letting out for the year the produce of some part of his estates; as we perceive had been done with his vindemiæ.

I have thus, I trust, established the assertion which I made in the preceding Dissertation, that the first nine books of the epistles of Pliny, beginning about U. C. 849 *medio*, end about the same time, U. C. 862. The tenth book, which continues the series, if we except a certain number of letters at the beginning of it, consists of the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny, during his government of Bithynia. A question, then, naturally arises here. Was Pliny sent upon his government of Bithynia, this very year, U. C. 862, or some later year? I consider this last supposition the more probable of the two. For it appears that he arrived in his province on the 17th of September, and that the Etesian winds had set in before he reached Ephesus on his way thither; see x. 26—29. I should think then that he set out early in August, at the latest. But when he wrote to Paullinus, U. C. 862,

the month of August in all probability was at hand, if not past.

The opinion of those learned men, who fix the date of Pliny's proconsulate to U. C. 855 or 856, is strongly opposed not only by all the preceding considerations, but by the following fact, recorded x. 16.

When Pliny, as it seems, was at Nicomedia, a certain Callidromus was brought before him, on a charge preferred against him by two pistores, or bakers, *Quibus operas suas locaverat*. This man's history, upon inquiry, turned out to be this; that he had been the servant of Laberius Maximus, and made prisoner by Susagus (doubtless a subject or general of Decebalus) in Mœsia; that Decebalus had sent him as a present to Pacorus, king of Parthia; that, after continuing in ejus ministerio *pluribus annis*, he had made his escape, and, after entering the service of the pistores in question, had taken refuge at the statue of Trajan, and so been brought before Pliny.

If this man was made prisoner in the Dacian war, and sent to Pacorus, *pluribus annis* before he came into the presence of Pliny, how is it possible that he could have been brought before Pliny, U. C. 855 or 856? The first Dacian war began only in U. C. 854, and was over in U. C. 856.

It is not improbable that the man was captured by the Daci on the occasion mentioned by Dio, lxxviii. 11, 12, which was either U. C. 857 or 858.* Pacorus too

* Cf. Frontonis opera inedita, pars ii. 320, 321, De Bello Parthico: Trajani proavi vestri ductu auspicioque nonne in Dacia captus vir consularis? What vir consularis is here alluded to, it would be difficult to say. It appears from Dio, lxxviii. 12, that a certain Longinus was made

prisoner by Decebalus in the second Dacian war; but neither is he described as vir consularis, nor was he made prisoner by open war, but by treachery and circumvention. Suidas, Ἐπεκρηρύκεύετο, has a fragment, very probably from Dio; which I should think relates to the cir-

seems to have been reigning in Parthia, when he made his escape: but at the time of Trajan's first expedition into Armenia, U. C. 867, Osroes or Chosroes, his brother, was reigning in his stead^{aa}: and as a civil war had previously raged in Parthia^b, not long before, Pacorus was probably deposed by his brother not long before also*.

And as to Laberius Maximus, the original owner of this slave, Spartian speaks of him as a person *Suspectus imperio*, and *Exulans in insula*, at the time of the death of Trajan and the accession of Hadrian^c. It is probable, then, that he fell into disgrace towards the end of the reign of Trajan: and from Pliny's mode of referring to him, it may be conjectured that he was in disgrace already, when he wrote the letter †.

cumstance thus alluded to by Fronto: and the person, made prisoner, being there described as a certain Lucius, which might easily be a corruption for Lusius, perhaps the individual intended was Lusius Quietus, of whom see the note to Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 80, and Dissertation xvii. vol. ii. 127. He was a commander under Trajan in the Dacian war, and he was also *vir consularis*. I propose this, however, only as a conjecture. For it is equally possible that the Lucius in question might be L. Appius Maximus, consul ii. with Trajan, U. C. 856: especially as a certain Maximus, according to Dio, was one of the commanders in the first Dacian

war, if not in the second^a.

* There is a fragment in Suidas, voce *Ἐπικλημα*, most probably from Dio, which proves that Pacorus had not yet been deposed, just before the commencement of Trajan's Armenian expedition.

† A Maximus, as we have seen, is alluded to by Xiphilinus, apud Dionem, lxxviii. 9, as holding a command in the first war against Decebalus, at the time of its close, U. C. 856: but whether Laberius Maximus, or not, does not appear. A Liberius (fortasse Laberius) Maximus is mentioned by Josephus, *De Bello*, vii. vi. 6, as procurator of Judæa in the reign of Vespasian, U. C. 824 or 825^d.

^a In some editions of the *Fasti*, however, this name is given as Q. Messius Maximus. ^{aa} Dio, lxxviii. 17. 19. Spartian, Hadrianus, 13. Aurelius Victor, *De Trajano*. These last authorities call him Cosdroes. ^b Dio, lxxviii. 26.

^c Hadrianus, 5. ^d A Maximus is also mentioned, Dio lxxviii. 30. 25, 26. as a commander in Upper Asia in the war against the Parthians, U. C. 868, and as falling in battle that same year. This then could not be the Laberius Maximus of Pliny or Spartian; if he was living at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian.

Another great objection to the same opinion is, that Pliny's prosocer, Fabatus, to whom we have epistles extant from iv. 1—viii. 10, beginning, as we have endeavoured to shew, U. C. 856, and extending down to U. C. 861, died while he was in office in Bithynia: and if we may judge from the place of the letter, which records the fact of his death, x. 121, died in the second year of his government*.

They who date the proconsulate of Pliny, U. C. 856, date that of Varenus U. C. 852.† Now Varenus was governor when Dio Chrysostom delivered his forty-eighth oration^d. Dio was a native of Prusa in Bithynia, and a Roman knight^e; many particulars of whose history might be gleaned from incidental allusions in his orations. That fact, which is most to our present purpose, is that for some reason of state, he was banished by Domitian, and until *his* death lived a wandering life sometimes among Greeks, and sometimes among barbarians. Upon the death of Domitian^f, when all exiles were permitted to return home, he paid a visit to Rome; but while there, or when on his way, he had a sickness which prevented him, as he says, from renewing his acquaintance with Nerva, or deriving any advantage from his patronage of men of science or letters, before his recovery. This is sufficient to prove that he did not visit, or did not leave, Rome before U. C. 851, *ineuntem*, the date of the death of Nerva.

* The same letter shews that Pliny's wife's aunt, Hispulla, (see viii. 11.) was still living; a very probable event at the time of the death of her father.

† If Bassus was governor before Varenus, the improbability of this date appears from Pliny's Epistles; iv. 9. §. 2: which shews that Bassus became go-

vernor of Bithynia *after* the accession of Nerva at least; that is, not before U. C. 849 *medium*, and 851 *ineuntem*. What time then could there have been for his two years of office before Varenus, by U. C. 852? especially if Varenus was among his accusers at the end of his government.

^d 236. *ad principium*.
^f xlv. 202. §. 15.

^e Cf. xxxvii. 113. §. 15—25. Cf. also Suidas, *Δίον*.

But he proceeds, in the same passage ^g, to allude very significantly to certain remarkable honours and distinctions which he experienced from Nerva's successor Trajan : to whose favour and regard for him clear references do in fact occur in many other parts of his orations. Philostratus tells us ^h that Trajan esteemed him so highly, as to make him ride in his triumphal chariot, along with himself. Photius in *Bibliotheca*, and Suidas in *Vita*, repeat this statement.

Now as Trajan did not visit Rome, after the death of Nerva, before U. C. 852, nor celebrate any triumph before U. C. 856, and U. C. 859 : on one of these occasions must Dio have ridden in his chariot. There is no reason to suppose that Trajan entered the city in a golden or triumphal chariot, as Philostratus tells us, when he returned in U. C. 852. Therefore, it must have been at the earliest in U. C. 856.

Now, after Dio returned home to Prusa, he appears not to have left it again. He was an old man, at the time, and infirm *. If, then, he was banished before the death of Domitian, and had not returned home before U. C. 856, how could he have been at Prusa during the government of Varenus, U. C. 852—854 ? There is no such difficulty, if Varenus was in office from U. C. 856—858 : for Dio might, and probably did return, in U. C. 856.

It appears from *Oratio* xl. 165. §. 40. that the people of Prusa sent an embassy to Rome to thank the emperor Trajan for some indulgence, which he had granted

* The statement of Suidas, under Nicostratus, one of the second decad of orators, as he describes him, that he was contemporary with Aristides and Dio Chrysostom, *ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ βασιλέως*, may possibly be true of Nicostratus and Aristides, but not of Nicostratus and Dio Chrysostom : for Dio Chrysostom in particular could never have been living in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.

^g 203. §. 30—35.

^h *Vitæ Sophistarum*, i. 493. A—B.

them out of condescension, as it would seem, to Dio—166. §. 15 : and when Dio himself was at Rome. This embassy, then, must have been sent, U. C. 852 or U. C. 856.

The twelfth oration was delivered at Olympia, in some Olympic year, just when the speaker had come from the Roman army among the Getæ; and he speaks of them as fighting at the time the one for empire, the other for libertyⁱ *. This implies that the Dacian war

* This circumstance, and the whole context of the passage, prove very probably that the visit to Olympia in question was not U. C. 850—though that was an Olympic year also, and though Philostratus, *Vitæ Sophistarum*, Dio, i. 492. C. D. mentions that he was present in the Roman army, as it would seem, in the neighbourhood of the Getæ, &c. at the time of the death of Domitian.

The Dacian war, indeed, was begun in the time of Domitian, see Dio, lxvii. 6 : but it would be improper to refer the allusions, above quoted, to this first war, which was not one for liberty on the part of the Getæ, and for empire on the part of the Romans, but quite the reverse. The date of Domitian's Dacian war is considered absolutely uncertain. Learned men place it conjecturally U. C. 839. To judge from Dio, it must have been over for the time before the games and celebrities mentioned lxvii. 7, 8 : and these might be understood of the *Ludi Capitolini*, instituted U. C. 839, as much as of the *Ludi Sæculares*, celebrated U. C. 841.

If Dio's banishment, in the reign of Domitian, was connected with the expulsion of the philosophers from Rome and Italy; that happened between U. C. 844, and U. C. 848 : See Dio, lxvii. 12—14. Suetonius, *Domitianus*, 10. and Tacitus, *Agricola*, 2. 44, 45. in fact, will shew it was between U. C. 846, and 848^k.

Jerome in *Chronico*, p. 163. dates the reduction of the Daci first, in the sixth of Domitian, U. C. 839, and Domitian's triumph over the Daci and Germans, in the xi. U. C. 844. Eusebius' *Armenian Chronicon* does nearly the same. The expulsion of the philosophers Jerome places in the viii. U. C. 841, and again in the xv. U. C. 848, but Eusebius, in the xiii. U. C. 846. It appears from Eckhel, vi. 378, that the title of Germanicus is found on the coins of Domitian first, U. C. 837.

An allusion occurs to the war of the Romans with the Getæ, as then going on, in Arrian's *Epictetus*, ii. 22. 315. line 13 ; which, if Epictetus was one of the philosophers who retired from Rome, when Domitian expelled them the city, would be

ⁱ 382. §. 20 : 378. §. 5—381. §. 15.

Domitian is spoken of as censor—for that was a lustral year : Dio lxvii. 13. Censor appears on his coins first, U. C. 837 : Eckhel, iii. 378.

^k I should think, in U. C. 847; when

was begun; as it was in U. C. 854, A. D. 101, which was also an Olympic year.

It is seen from Oratio xl—xlvii. that Dio after his return was appointed by his countrymen to superintend certain buildings, designed for the embellishment of their city: in the discharge of which commission he gave great offence. I think the dispute thus occasioned was the same which we find from x. 85, 86, to be existing in the time of Pliny: a very possible supposition, eight or ten years after U. C. 856*.

One thing is observable. In the course of the above orations Dio often alludes to his *wife* and *son*—and to both as then alive^k. But from the before mentioned letters of Pliny, it appears that they were at that time dead, and had been buried in one part of the works in question; which was a further ground of offence with Dio. There is no reason why they might not be living when those orations were pronounced, yet dead when Pliny came into office†.

Among Pliny's predecessors in office, we know that

after the date of that expulsion, as determined above. To his living in Nicopolis (of Epirus) there is an allusion in this same book, cap. 6. 197. not long before—which we may presume would be in the time of Domitian. The death of Domitian and the accession of Nerva gave permission to all exiles to return from banishment—of which Epictetus also might avail himself. And that he was writing in the reign of Trajan after this, though whether still at Nicopolis does not appear, is proved by the mention of the coins of Trajan, iv. 5. 602. l. 7, 8.

* There is an indirect allusion to the same subject, Oratio xlviii. 243. §. 15, at the time when Varenus was in office: which might be U. C. 857, or 858. In the same speech, 238. 5, the Getæ are spoken of as *enemies* at the time. The Dacian war was going on again from U. C. 857—859.

† Dio is alluded to incidentally in Philostratus' life of Phavorinus, as having been his master; and, it would seem, as then dead. Phavorinus' acme was under Hadrian. See Vitæ Sophistarum, i. 494. B. C. 496. B. and 493. C. D.

^k Cf. in particular, xli. 219. §. 10. xlvii. 233. §. 45.

Calvus was one; and that he very probably came just before him. I should suppose that Calvus was in office U. C. 862—864: and consequently Pliny U. C. 864—866.

There will be, upon this supposition, another hiatus of two years' duration, between the ninth and tenth books of the series; and some such interruption there seems to have been: for we have no mention in any of the remaining Epistles, of those magnificent spectacles and entertainments of Trajan's, which Dio speaks of as lasting 123 days, nor of those embassies from all parts of the world, even from India, to which also he alludes¹. These events happened probably between U. C. 862, and U. C. 864.

It is a corollary from the above conclusions, that Pliny's persecution of the Bithynian Christians, some time during his government, must be placed U. C. 865. The place of his celebrated letter, x. 97, is between the Vota in the first year of his office, x. 44, and the birthday of Trajan, x. 89, in the second, or the Vota, x. 101, in the second also: that is, between the January U. C. 865, and the same date U. C. 866. Prosper, Chronicon, 708, dates it U. C. 866 or 867.

After the close of the tenth book we lose all traces of the history of Pliny. He might accompany Trajan into the East, U. C. 867, and perish in the earthquake at Antioch, U. C. 868.

¹ lxviii. 15.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XXII.

Computation of Sabbatic years.

Vide Dissertation xxii. vol. ii. page 232—244.

THE subject of Sabbatic years was several times alluded to in the course of Dissertations xi. and xii. Appendix; and certain coincidences with respect to them were there pointed out. These coincidences were all the result of the supposition that the first sabbatic cycle, as such, began B. C. 1513, and the first sabbatic year, B. C. 1507. If this supposition is true, the year of the Eisodus, B. C. 1520, and, by parity of consequence, the year of the Exodus, B. C. 1560, become determined also: and perhaps the coincidences in question, being so numerous and so critical, should be considered as *some* confirmation of the truth of the principles themselves on which they are founded. I say *some* confirmation; for I am aware that they are no *necessary* confirmation; and though if the year of the Exodus was truly B. C. 1560, and therefore the year of the division of the lands was truly B. C. 1514, such coincidences must naturally be expected to hold good, yet the converse is not a necessary consequence; that because *these* coincidences hold good, *those* must do so likewise. The same conclusions would follow, if the date of the Eisodus, and by parity of consequence the date of the Exodus, were placed just *seven* years higher, or just *seven* years lower, than B. C. 1520, or B. C. 1560: or even if the difference between these

dates, and any others substituted for them respectively, were merely some multiple of *seven*.

As far then as regards the argument deducible from these coincidences, in support of that system of chronology relating to the Old Testament history, which was proposed in the Appendix, Dissertation xi. vol. iii. 430, and which we endeavoured further to illustrate and confirm in the succeeding Dissertation also—it might apply, an objector would say, equally to any other system in which that fundamental and primary date, the date of the Exodus from Egypt, differed from ours either by *seven* years, or by any number of years a certain multiple of *seven*, whether in excess or in defect. I am willing to concede this objection; though I would have the objector to consider that every one of the years, which exhibit the coincidences in question, were themselves determined upon independent principles, which had nothing to do with the further hypothesis that they were such and such years of the cycle. For example, that most authentic instance of all, the sabbatic year which coincided with B.C. 709—708, was ascertained to be such, because it coincided with the sixteenth of king Hezekiah; and the scriptural narrative itself demonstrated that the sixteenth of Hezekiah must have been a sabbatic year. Now the sixteenth of Hezekiah admitted of being determined by a chain of consecutive steps both *a priori* and *a posteriori*: *a priori*, by tracing the course of events from the date of the foundation of the temple downwards; *a posteriori*, by tracing the course of events from the date of the return after the captivity backwards: and to exhibit the several links of this chain was the business of the discussion.

The first of these dates, it may be said, involves the logical fallacy of reasoning in a circle—for it was itself

deduced from the supposition that the date of the Eisodus was B. C. 1520, and therefore cannot be properly applied to the proof of that fact, as if it were independent of it. We cannot argue that B. C. 1014. was the beginning of the reign of Solomon, because B. C. 1520. was the year of the Eisodus—and that B. C. 1520. was the year of the Eisodus, because B. C. 1014. was the beginning of the reign of Solomon, without the *probatio* of *idem per idem*. But no such objection can apply to the course of the same reasoning *a posteriori*. The date of the return from captivity synchronised with the *first* of Cyrus; and the first of Cyrus is determinable by the aid of profane chronology, without having recourse to the Bible. As so determined, it is found to coincide with B. C. 536: and B. C. 536. being once ascertained as the close of the seventy years' captivity, it is an immediate consequence that its beginning was B. C. 606: that the same year coincided partly with the *third*, and partly with the *fourth*, of Jehoiakim: and therefore B. C. 609. partly with the *last* of his predecessor, and partly with his *first*. By this means we ascend to the *first* of Josiah, of Amon, of Manasseh; and by parity of reasoning to the *last* of Hezekiah: and we ascend through steps, so linked together, that it is impossible we can be wrong by more than a few months, either above or below the truth. The last of Hezekiah being determined, his sixteenth is determined also; and this is found to coincide with B. C. 709—708. The same sixteenth must have been a sabbatic year, and therefore so must B. C. 709—708, if it truly coincided with it. Deduce the cycle of sabbatic years from B. C. 1513, and this is found to be actually the case; for B. C. 1507—1506. having been the *first*, B. C. 709—708. was necessarily the *hundred and fifteenth*.

Now to what other beginning of the sabbatic cycles will the same conclusion apply so well as to this? Let the various dates, which the most eminent chronologers have fixed upon as the years of the Exodus, be tried by this test; whether they will accord with the hypothesis that the sixteenth of Hezekiah, and B. C. 709—708, were each of them coincident, and each of them a sabbatic year. The date of Usher^a, and of the English Bible, B. C. 1491, supposes the Exodus B. C. 1451: the commencement of the sabbatic cycle B. C. 1444; and the first sabbatic year, as such, B. C. 1438—1437. Referred to this date, the hundred and fifth sabbatic year was B. C. 710—709, the *fifteenth* of Hezekiah not the *sixteenth*. This may be an approximation to a coincidence, it is true; but had it even amounted to an actual coincidence, it would yet be deduced from a false principle. For the date of the Exodus, as so assumed, is much too late: and though archbishop Usher, in every subsequent step, had reasoned precisely as we have done, the original difference between our respective dates, B. C. 1560. and B. C. 1491, for the Exodus, and B. C. 1507. and B. C. 1438, for the first sabbatic year, would be preserved throughout. This difference in either case is sixty-nine; or just one year less than an exact multiple of seven: so that sabbatic years as calculated on the principles of such a system would necessarily be just one year in *anticipation* of the corresponding years in ours. But the truth is that, as one error will sometimes rectify another, so, though according to this chronology the date of the Exodus may be fixed sixty-nine years too late, the date of the beginning of the reign of Solomon is placed sixty-nine years too soon. I mean that whatsoever system placed the Exodus B. C. 1491, would be bound, if it proceeded regularly

^a Vide Dr. Hales' Analysis, i. 9. 22.

and justly, and according to the plain intimations of the Bible itself, to place the beginning of the reign of Solomon B. C. 946 : whereas the Bible chronology has placed it B. C. 1015. This error has consequently so far corrected the other ; and for the subsequent period, between the *first* of Solomon and the *sixteenth* of Hezekiah, it would be possible for the system of Usher to go along with any other, even if that were the true, with no other difference between them than one or two years at the utmost. But, for the antecedent period before and after the Exodus to the first of Solomon, the utmost difference might prevail between them : and this is a part of the system of Usher, which in my opinion, must be given up as indefensible.

I have dwelt thus long on the sabbatic year which coincided with the sixteenth of Hezekiah, because it is the most authentic instance of any such year upon record : and one such year being clearly determined, any others, comprehended within a given number of years, either backwards or forwards, are necessarily determined likewise. But we have had direct proof from Josephus of sabbatic years which began B. C. 163, B. C. 135, B. C. 37, respectively ; and indirect proofs from him, and from other sources, of similar years which began B. C. 23, A. D. 41, A. D. 55, and A. D. 69. There was only not direct proof also from the Bible of a sabbatic year which began B. C. 590. All these must actually have been such years, if any of them were ; and they would any of them be such, if B. C. 709—708, or what is the same thing, B. C. 1507—1506, was so. Surely this cumulative proof must be considered to possess some weight, if it is not acknowledged to be demonstrative, upon the particular question whether the sixteenth of Hezekiah coincided with B. C. 709, and both with a sabbatic year, or not.

Is there any reason to suppose that sabbatic years, *after* the captivity, did not proceed just as they had done *before* it? and if not, must not the proof of a sabbatic year, *after* the captivity, be decisive as to what years were or were not so, *before* it? The Jews had inspired and infallible directors in the prophets, such as Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and in such persons as Ezra and Nehemiah, after the captivity as well as before it, who could not fail to have directed them right on this point, as well as upon any other; if there had been the slightest uncertainty about it. But that there was no uncertainty, at least in the time of Nehemiah, appears from what has been shewn elsewhere: and if there was no uncertainty in the time of Nehemiah, B. C. 444, I do not see that there could have been any, B. C. 163, in the time of the Maccabees. John Hyrcanus, one of that number, was considered by Josephus, and by the Jewish church generally, in the light of a prophet, or of a person endowed with supernatural gifts: the former must have supposed him possessed of the Urim and Thummim itself: for he asserts in the Antiquities^b, that the continuance of this mode of communication with the Deity ceased only two hundred years before the time when he was writing; which being at the earliest, U. C. 846, A. D. 93, places the cessation in question B. C. 108; only *six* years before the *true* close of the reign of Hyrcanus^c. Yet we find Hyrcanus himself celebrating a sabbatic year, which coincided with B. C. 135—134.

The coincidences in question are in fact so numerous and so critical, as justly to authorize the inference that they could not be produced by chance; they must have been the effect of truth. How often do they stop short on the very verge of a contradiction between the result

^b iii. viii. 9.

^c Appendix, Dissertation iv. vol. iii. 352.

of the calculations, and the matter of fact! That is to say, how often is there proof from contemporary history of a *seed-time* or an *harvest* in a particular year, which turns out on consideration to be just in the *sixth* year of the cycle! in entire harmony therefore with the principles of a system which places its sabbatic years in the year ensuing, but diametrically at variance with the arrangements of any other, which places those years in the year before.

We cannot illustrate these assertions better, than by the exhibition of a table of sabbatic years, which shall run parallel to the duration of the Hebrew monarchy, beginning B. C. 1094, in the first year of Saul, and ending B. C. 589, in the last year but one of Zedekiah; and constructed according to the principles in question. The first sabbatic year being B. C. 1507—1506, the sixtieth was B. C. 1094—1093. For $1507 - 1094 = 413 = 59 \times 7$. Hence the series will begin with the sixtieth year.

Table of Sabbatic years, beginning B. C. 1094. and ending B. C. 589.

	B. C.		B. C.
LX.	1094—1093	LXXV.	989—988
LXI.	1087—1086	LXXVI.	982—981
LXII.	1080—1079	LXXVII.	975—974
LXIII.	1073—1072	LXXVIII.	968—967
LXIV.	1066—1065	LXXIX.	961—960
LXV.	1059—1058	LXXX.	954—953
LXVI.	1052—1051	LXXXI.	947—946
LXVII.	1045—1044	LXXXII.	940—939
LXVIII.	1038—1037	LXXXIII.	933—932
LXIX.	1031—1030	LXXXIV.	926—925
LXX.	1024—1023	LXXXV.	919—918
LXXI.	1017—1016	LXXXVI.	912—911
LXXII.	1010—1009	LXXXVII.	905—904
LXXIII.	1003—1002	LXXXVIII.	898—897
LXXIV.	996—995	LXXXIX.	891—890

	B. C.		B. C.
XC.	884—883	CXII.	730—729
XCI.	877—876	CXIII.	723—722
XCII.	870—869	CXIV.	716—715
XCIII.	863—862	CXV.	709—708
XCIV.	856—855	CXVI.	702—701
XCV.	849—848	CXVII.	695—694
XCVI.	842—841	CXVIII.	688—687
XCVII.	835—834	CXIX.	681—680
XCVIII.	828—827	CXX.	674—673
XCIX.	821—820	CXXI.	667—666
C.	814—813	CXXII.	660—659
CI.	807—806	CXXIII.	653—652
CII.	800—799	CXXIV.	646—645
CIII.	793—792	CXXV.	639—638
CIV.	786—785	CXXVI.	632—631
CV.	779—778	CXXVII.	625—624
CVI.	772—771	CXXVIII.	618—617
CVII.	765—764	CXXIX.	611—610
CVIII.	758—757	CXXX.	604—603
CIX.	751—750	CXXXI.	597—596
CX.	744—743	CXXXII.	590—589
CXI.	737—736		

With regard to the above details, the first remark which we may make is this; that had the same table been conducted downwards from B. C. 1507, the thirty-second sabbatic year would have been found to coincide with B. C. 1290—1289: for $1507 - 1290 = 217 = 31 \times 7$. Now, according to the principle laid down, that of reckoning the *last* year of a particular servitude as the *first* year of the deliverance from it; if we consider B. C. 1499, the beginning of the servitudes in question, it will be found upon computation that B. C. 1290, was the last year of the servitude to the Midianites, and therefore the first of the administration of Gideon. The angel who commissioned Gideon appeared to him at the time of wheat-harvest^d; that

^d Judges vi. 11.

is, about Pentecost or midsummer, in the year in question. The beginning of his administration consequently bears date from the midsummer of a certain year, which certainly was not a sabbatic year; and if that year was B. C. 1290, there might be an harvest at the midsummer of that year; for B. C. 1290, down to midsummer, was the last half of the sixth year of the cycle.

Again, the ark was restored by the Philistines at the time of wheat-harvest in some year^e; which was consequently not a sabbatic year. We assumed in Dissertation^f xi. Appendix, that it was restored the year before the commencement of the administration of Samuel; which administration lasted *twenty* years previously to the consecration of Saul. The first year of Samuel, then, was B. C. 1114: and the time of the restoration of the ark was midsummer B. C. 1115: at which time there would be a wheat-harvest; for B. C. 1115, to midsummer, also was the close of the sixth year of the cycle: $1507 - 1115 = 392 = 56 \times 7$. Now the ark, before its restoration, had been seven months captive with the Philistines^g: hence if it was restored at midsummer, B. C. 1115, it had been made captive November, or December, B. C. 1116. This then would be the exact time of the death of Eli.

Again, at the inauguration of Saul wheat-harvest was ready to begin^h; which is a proof that that was not *in* a sabbatic year. But it might be at the midsummer in the last year of the cycle: and this was actually the case with the midsummer B. C. 1094.

Again, the *first* sabbatic year in the reign of David would be the *sixty-sixth*, B. C. 1052—1051, partly in the *third*, and partly in the *fourth*, of his reign. There could be no such year, then, in his *seventh* or his

^e 1 Sam. vi. 13.^f Vol. iii. p. 447.^g 1 Sam. vi. 1.^h Ibid. xii. 17.

eighth, when Ishbosheth appears to have been killed ⁱ; and the allusion at that time to *wheat* ^k might be either to seed-time, or to harvest; for the year would admit of either.

Again, the birth of Solomon having fallen out in the spring quarter of B. C. 1031, it fell out in the last half of the sixth year of a sabbatic cycle.

Again, the coincidences with respect to the seventieth, and the seventy-first, sabbatic years, B. C. 1024, and 1017, have been already pointed out. It has been seen, from 1 Chron. xxi. 20, that B. C. 1017, Ornan or Araunah was threshing wheat—very probably of that year's growth: at the time when the plague was stayed. This too would be in the *sixth* year of the cycle *exeunte*.

Again, the building of the temple which was begun in the spring, B. C. 1011, was begun in the last half of the fifth year of one cycle; and being finished in the spring or the autumn, B. C. 1004, was finished in the last half of the fifth year of another.

Again, if the reign of Rehoboam, and consequently that of Jeroboam, began in the spring of B. C. 974, it began in the midst of the seventy-seventh sabbatic year. And this would be eminently a time when the whole nation might be at leisure to come to him collectively—as they are represented to have done, upon occasion of the conferences at Shechem.

Again, the eighty-sixth, eighty-seventh, and eighty-eighth, sabbatic years, beginning B. C. 912, B. C. 905, and B. C. 898, respectively, are all sabbatic years which came between the two extremes of the reign of Ahab, B. C. 917, and B. C. 896. Now the great drought, which happened in the course of the same reign, has been shewn to have terminated just at the

ⁱ 2 Sam. ii. 10. v. 5.

^k iv. 6.

usual period of the recurrence of the autumnal rains¹; and this being the usual period of seed-time also, it becomes a probable conjecture that the providence of God was graciously pleased to put an end to the drought *against* that time itself. If so, the drought did not terminate *in* a sabbatic year, when, as there could be no harvest, there could be no seed-time also. For a similar reason we may conjecture that neither did it begin *in* a sabbatic year; for the drought and the consequent scarcity were each of them judicial, and out of the course of nature; of which dispensation it seems reasonable to suppose a year of rest as such would constitute no part. On this supposition, either the beginning of the drought was just after *one* sabbatic year, and its end just midway before *the next*; or its beginning was midway after *one* sabbatic year, and its end just before *another*. This latter case is as possible as the former; and on that principle the drought would terminate the year before B. C. 912, or B. C. 905, or B. C. 898. The last of these years is out of the question; for it was only two or three years before the death of Ahab himself; and the second, as we shall see by and by, is excluded likewise. It remains then that the first alone could be the close of the drought: and in favour of that conclusion we may further reason as follows.

The beginning of the drought is placed in the First Book of Kings consecutively upon the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel^m: and this marriage must have been concluded in the *first* year of Ahab's reign. For he reigned only *twenty-one* years complete; yet both Ahaziah and Jehoram, his sons by Jezebelⁿ, were arrived at man's estate by the time of his death. If Ahaziah, then, was

¹ Dissertation xxxiv. vol. iii. 16.
xxii. 51, 52. 2 Kings iii. 13. ix. 22.

^m xvi. 31, 32. xvii. 1.

ⁿ 1 Kings

the oldest of the two, he must have been born in the *first* or the *second* year of his father's reign.

The reign of Ahab began B. C. 917. *ineunte*: and if he was married to Jezebel some time in this year, the worship of Baal might be already established in Samaria before the same time in the next. The drought was a judicial dispensation in resentment of this particular sin: what, therefore, would be more natural than that it should begin about the same time with that? If however it began, where it terminated, viz. just before seed-time in a certain year; then if it began at this time, B. C. 916, it would end at the same time, B. C. 913, at the beginning of the *sixth* year of the cycle.

The same drought is placed by Josephus °, upon the authority of Menander the Ephesian or the Pergamene, in the reign of Ithobal or Ethbaal the father of Jezebel; which is manifestly a possible statement; for Ithobal and Ahab must have been contemporaries, and the same fact might happen in the reign of each. But the authority of the same historian will shew that the reign of Ithobal began B. C. 921, and expired B. C. 889: in which case any drought which happened in his reign, and in Ahab's likewise, could neither be earlier than B. C. 917, the beginning of the latter, nor later than B. C. 896, the end of the same: while a drought which began in B. C. 916, and expired in B. C. 913, would truly belong to the reign of both.

The catalogue of these kings of Tyre, as transcribed from Menander, which Josephus has given *Contra Apionem*, i. 18, labours under great depravation of the numbers: for the sum total of these numbers, as there exhibited in detail, amounts only to 137 years and eight months; whereas the true sum total, as it ap-

° Ant. viii. xiii. 2.

pears from Josephus himself^p, should be 155 years and eight months. But the same catalogue is given by Eusebius and Syncellus^q, professedly from Josephus; and by Theophilus ad Autolyicum^r, professedly from Menander: and though neither of these catalogues also is free from error, yet the difference in the former amounts but to *two* years in excess; and by comparing all three catalogues together, we obtain an amended list, the sum total of which is exactly 155 years and eight months; a sum total, recognised by Theophilus (*loco cit.*) not less than by Josephus.

This list begins with the first of Hirom; supposed to be contemporary with Solomon: in the *twelfth* of whose reign the Tyrian records placed the foundation of the temple. On this principle, the *twelfth* of Hirom synchronised with the *fourth* of Solomon; and both with B. C. 1011: and consequently his first with B. C. 1022. From this year *inclusive* to the first of Ithobal *exclusive*, the interval in the amended list is one hundred and one years, eight months, or one hundred and two current years—which places the first of Ithobal not later than B. C. 921. At this time he was *thirty-six* years of age himself, and he had a son (his successor) who was seven years old, or more, even then. He was consequently married not later than the twenty-ninth year of his age: seven years before he came to the throne, B. C. 921. But Jezebel seems to have been born before that event; and had she been born B. C. 932, she would still be merely fifteen years old B. C. 917, when she was probably married to Ahab: nor would she be more than thirty-nine years old at the utmost, B. C. 883, when she was put to death by Jehu^s.

According to the same list, from the *first* of Ithobal

^p Contra Apionem, i. 18. ii. 2. Cf. also, Eusebius, Evangelica Præparatio, x. 13. 502. B. ^q Eusebius, Chronicon Armeno-Latinum, Pars 1a, 173—181. Syncellus, i. 343. l. 1—345. l. 19. ^r Lib. iii. 21. 354—362. ^s 2 Kings ix. 30.

B. C. 921. *inclusive*, to the *seventh* of Pygmalion *exclusive*, the interval was fifty-three years: the seventh of Pygmalion, therefore, could not be later than B. C. 867. Now in the *seventh* of Pygmalion the Tyrian records placed the foundation of Carthage: which would thus coincide with B. C. 867: and the year of its destruction being B. C. 146, the term of its pre-existing duration would be 721 years. There is no date, it is true, upon which more uncertainty prevails than on this of the foundation of Carthage*: but the

* As a specimen of this uncertainty, I will produce a few more dates, besides those mentioned, or about to be mentioned, in the text.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, i. 74, according to Timæus, both Rome and Carthage were founded thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad; that is, B. C. 776+38, B. C. 814. Velleius Pat. i. 12, adopts this date: yet he has another, i. 6, somewhat earlier, or B. C. 817—Cicero, De Republica i. (apud Nonium Marc.): Nec tantum Carthago habuisset opum sexcentos fere annos, nisi consiliis et disciplina. It is probable, however, that this date is referred to the commencement of the wars with Rome, B. C. 264, which would remarkably agree with our date of the foundation of Carthage, B. C. 867—Appian, De Rebus Punicis, viii. 1, says Carthage was founded by Zorus and Carchedon fifty years *πρὸ ἀλώσεως Ἰλίου*, that is, B. C. 1233; yet cap. 2, that the Romans deprived the Carthaginians of Sicily and Sardinia, seven hundred years after its foundation. This was at the close of the first Punic war, B. C. 241.

On this principle, its foundation must be placed B. C. 941. In the speech of Asdrubal also, (cap. 51,) just after the battle of Zama, B. C. 201, the city is said to have flourished but seven hundred years. So that on this point Appian is inconsistent with himself—Servius, ad Æneidem, i. 12. 267: places the foundation of Carthage seventy years before that of Rome, that is, B. C. 824: Justin xviii. 6. two years earlier, B. C. 826: Cassiodorus, in Chronicis, in the reign of Latinus Sylvius, sometime, according to the same authority, between B. C. 1074, and B. C. 1024: Orosius, iv. 6. seventy-two years before Rome; which as his date of Roma condita is the Catonian, B. C. 752, amounts to the same thing as Servius', of seventy years before B. C. 754. Ad Æneidem, iv. 459, Servius places it forty years before the same date, B. C. 794—Eusebius, Chronicon Armeno-Latinum, Pars ii. 149: Carthage was founded, Secundum quosdam a Carchedone Tyrio, secundum vero alios, a Didone ejusdem filia, post Trojanorum res annis 143: Ad annum Abrahami 978. Eusebius' date for the capture of Troy is

date of Polybius, who was himself contemporary with its destruction, and probably had access to the Carthaginian records themselves, would *a priori* be the most credible; and this date, in general terms, is expressed by the city's having flourished seven hundred years from its foundation^u; which may be understood as a current statement, and not with the epitomizer of Livy, Orosius, or Eutropius^v, of the seven-hundredth year exactly. If the city had stood *seven hundred and twenty-one* years exactly, its duration might yet be spoken of in general terms as seven hundred years only*. There is a date in Solinus^w which supposes it

405 years before the first Olympiad, B. C. 1181; see Ad annum Abrahami 835. This places the foundation of Carthage, B. C. 1038 or 1039—Ibid. 151: there is another date Ad annum 1005: twenty-seven years later, that is, B. C. 1011, or 1012. There is a third date, Ad annum 1166: one hundred and eighty-eight years later, that is, B. C. 850 or 851, an approximation to B. C. 867—Its destruction is placed Ad annum 1867, Ol. 157. 4, B. C. $\frac{1}{4}\frac{3}{8}$: when, as it appears from Syncellus, (i. 555. 11. 557. 1,) it had previously existed, according to some, χμ'. 640 years, according to others, ψμ', 748 years: the first of which places its foundation, B. C. 786: the latter, B. C. 894^t. Syncellus, i. 324, tells us, Καρχηδόνα φησὶ Φίλιππος κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἀζώρου καὶ Καρχηδόνης τῶν Τυρίων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, viz. A. M.

4340: that is, upon his principles, B. C. 1160. Dio Chrysostom, Oratio xxv. 522. §. 45, speaks of one Hanno as the founder of Carthage. Cf. also Eustathium ad Dionysium Periegeten, 195.

From lib. ii. of Cicero De Republica, it appears that he made Carthage sixty years older than Rome, and followed the date of Timæus, thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad. His date for Roma condita was Ol. vii. 2.

* Thus Tacitus, Historiæ, iv. 74: Octingentorum annorum fortuna; yet the time was U. C. 823. Florus, iv. 12, 64: Aususque tandem Cæsar Augustus septingentesimo ab urbe condita anno Janum Geminum cludere. Yet this was either U. C. 725 or 729.

Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 24: Vetur ut ad urbis nostræ miracula transire conveniat, nongentorumque annorum dociles scrutari vi-

^t The parallel place in the Chronicon of Jerome, p. 147, has its destruction Ad annum Abrahami 1872, Olympiad 158. 3, five years later: and those dates of its age previously, which were defective in the Armenian Chronicon, are supplied in Jerome, 668 and 748 respectively. Of all the dates of the foundation of Carthage, the latest is that of Apio, apud Josephum, Contra Apionem, ii. 2. viz. Olymp. vii. 1. B. C. 752, which is the Catonian date for the foundation of Rome itself.
^u Appian, Punica, viii. 132. Suidas, Ἀφρικανός: and Καρχηδών. ^v Livii Epitome, li. Orosius, iv. 23. Eutropius iv. 5. Orosius, vii. 2, represents the entire duration of the Carthaginian empire as Paulo amplius quam septingentis annis. It might, therefore, be 721. ^w Polyhistor, cap. 27. §. 11.

to have stood 737 years: there are others, as for instance the date of Velleius Paterculus^w, which makes it to have stood 667; or the date of Justin^x, which makes it to have stood 680. The number 721 is about a mean between the extremes of 700 and 737; and, therefore, in all probability is so much the nearer to the truth. On this question, however, it is not necessary to enter any further into detail.

The testimony of Scripture^y, indeed, would imply that a king called Hiram was reigning at Tyre, about the commencement of the reign of David over all Israel, B.C. 1047; which was thirty-six years before B.C. 1011. But the Second of Chronicles shews that this king must have been succeeded by a king, his son, called Hiram or Hiram, also^z: who must have been contemporary with Solomon down even to B.C. 992, the twenty-third of his reign, at least^a: and this he would be, if he began to reign B.C. 1022, and continued to reign until B.C. 988, thirty-four years in all*. The former Hiram and David might be contemporaries, whose reigns began or ended not many years asunder: in which case the same thing would be true of the second Hiram and of Solomon respectively. There will be no further difficulty than this; that the former Hiram must be denominated Abibalus by Menander and Dios, as quoted by Josephus: but this difficulty is trifling;

res—U. C. 900, instead of U. C. 830: when he was writing. Lib. xxxvi. 24. sect. 3: Durant tamen a Tarquinio Prisco annis dccc. (aliter dcc.) The true date is about U. C. 830—138, or 692 years.

* It is affirmed of the same Hiram, on the authority of Menander and Lætus, by Clemens

Alexandrinus^b, that he gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon: and this also was a possible case. Vide likewise Tatiani Oratio adversus Græcos, cap. 58: where the second of these historians is called Chætus: and Theophilus ad Autolycum.

^w i. 12. 6. ^x xviii. 6. ^y 2 Sam. v. 11. ^z 2 Chron. ii. 11—13.
^a viii. 1, 2, 17, 18. 1 Kings ix. 10—14. 26—28. vii. 1. vi. 38. ^b Stromatum
i. 21. Operum i. 386, 387.

for Hiram might be his proper name, and Abibal only an appellative, from some supposed relation to Baal or Belus, the divinity worshipped at Tyre. Nor do I consider 2 Chron. ii. 3. any great objection; though it would seem to imply that this Hiram also was a contemporary of David's, at the time when he built his palace, as referred to 1 Chron. xiv. 1. The second Hiram might have rendered a similar service to David, during the eight or nine years for which they were contemporaries. But the act is referred to by Solomon only generally; as the act of the king of Tyre for the time being: and there is no mention of any name in the parallel place, 1 Kings v. 2—6.

Again, the death of Jehoram king of Israel, B. C. 883, and the beginnings of the reigns of Jehu and Athaliah, B. C. 882, and by parity of consequence of Joash, king of Judah, all took place in the midst of the first year of the cycle.

The details of succeeding reigns are not sufficiently minute to enable us to point out any more coincidences, before the hundred and fifteenth sabbatic year, B. C. 709—708, which has been abundantly illustrated already: and what sabbatic years came between this year, and B. C. 609, the year of the death of Josiah, will be seen from the inspection of the table.

The next such year however is the hundred and thirtieth, B. C. 604—603, which is a remarkable year, as coinciding with the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; dated from the death of his father. From this time to the *first* sabbatic year, which was in course after the return from captivity, viz. B. C. 534—533, the interval is just seventy years. Now there is a peculiar text, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21: To fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her *sabbaths*: for as long as she lay desolate

she *kept sabbath*, to fulfil *threescore and ten years**; which may authorize us to consider the seventy years of captivity as equivalent to so many *sabbatic years*, and consequently to a period of *four hundred and ninety* common years, or *seventy sabbatic cycles*. Regarded in this light, the first sabbatic year, coincident with the beginning of the captivity, would mark the close of the four hundred and ninety years in question; and the period of rest from that time to the first which was coincident with the conclusion of it, will express the term of some duration previously, as equivalent to seventy sabbatic cycles. If we add 490 to B. C. 604, we arrive at B. C. 1094, the first year of the reign of Saul, as B. C. 604 was of that of Nebuchadnezzar; with the one of whom the Hebrew monarchy as such began, and with the other was virtually extinguished for a time†.

* Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34, 35. "Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye *be* in your enemies' land; *even* then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths. As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest; because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it." See also verse 43.

† It is to be presumed that under the reign of kings of Judah, as well as of Israel, whose heart was not perfect before the Lord, the observance of the sabbatic year would repeatedly be neglected, as much as that of any other ordinance of the law of Moses. And supposing this, in repeated instances, to have been the case, we may certainly infer from the above text, that one of the purposes contemplated by the seventy years' captivity was

that the land, while she lay in her state of loneliness and desolation, might enjoy those years of rest, to which she was always entitled from the first, and of which she had been defrauded in times past. We may safely infer then from these words, that the years of the captivity, on the whole, were forecast and determined with a special regard to a certain number of sabbatic years, which had not been observed in the due course of things, when they ought to have been. We must beware, however, how we infer from them further, that the *whole* of this period was forecast with *that* special object in view; or that *each* of the seventy years of captivity was a compensatory provision for a corresponding sabbatic year, which had not been observed in its own time

The above table stops short with B. C. 590—589, the hundred and thirty-second sabbatic year; which

and season, as it should have been. For this would imply that seventy sabbatic years at least had been neglected in due course of things, before the commencement of the captivity: and seventy sabbatic years would imply a period of 490 common years, before the date of the captivity, B. C. 606, at least; during which not a single sabbatic year could have been observed in the due course of things. And what would be the consequence of this conclusion? That no sabbatic year could ever have been observed, as far back as B. C. 1096—two years before the first of Saul, B. C. 1094, and forty years before the probable date of the death of Samuel, B. C. 1056: and all through the reigns of David and Solomon, and every successive king of Judah, good or bad, alike, from B. C. 974, the first of Rehoboam, to B. C. 606, the third of Jehoiakim. We cannot suppose the above declaration was intended to lead to such an absurd and improbable conclusion as this.

The truth is, the absolute duration of the rest of the land, even for the captivity itself, cannot be dated from B. C. 606, which was the first captivity, but only from B. C. 588, which was the last. After B. C. 588, the land might be completely abandoned and deserted; but before, it could not have been: consequently after this date it might have enjoyed a perfect rest from every species of agricultural service to which a land is put while in the possession of inhabitants to till it; but before

it could not. From this date, to that of the return and the reoccupation of the country, B. C. 536, the interval is exactly fifty-two years: and fifty-two years, supposing them to represent more or less so many sabbatic years, which should have been observed in due course, but had not been, will be equivalent to 364 common years; which, dated back from B. C. 606, would express, on this principle, that period of time in Jewish history previously, during which, on the whole, the sabbatic year, like any other ordinance of the Jewish law, had been more or less neglected, or never, at least, uniformly observed. And herein we may perceive a remarkable coincidence. For what is that period, later than the close of the reign of Solomon at least—at which and from which we may most reasonably suppose the law of Moses in general to have begun, and to have continued, to be more or less regularly or irregularly observed, according to the character of the reigning king—even of Judah? With the evidence of 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26. and 2 Chron. xii. 1—12. before our eyes, can we hesitate to say it must bear date in and after the fifth of Rehoboam, when Jerusalem was delivered into the hands of Shishak king of Egypt—as the first instance of any such penal dispensation for any specific corresponding offence, since the establishment of the kingly government in the person of Saul? Now the fifth of Rehoboam bears date from Nisan, B. C. 970, (see Appendix, Disserta-

also has been illustrated elsewhere. Had it been continued forwards, however, the *hundred and forty-second* would be found to coincide with B. C. 520—519: for $1507 - 520 = 987 = 141 \times 7$.

Now according to the *Fasti Hellenici* of Mr. Clinton ^c, the first *Thoth* of Darius Hystaspis was Jan. 1. B. C. 521; in which case a sabbatic year, B. C. 520—519, would be partly in the *second*, and partly in the *third* of his reign. On this principle the *ninth* month in the *second* of Darius, Haggai ii. 10. 18, was Chisleu, B. C. 520: and the words which follow, Consider now from this day and upward, from the four and twentieth day of the ninth *month*, *even* from the day that the foundation of the LORD's temple was laid, consider it. Is the seed yet * in the barn?....from this day will I bless you—appear to justify the inference that there was this year the usual *seed-time*; and consequently that B. C. 520. was not a sabbatic year ^d.

In answer to this objection I observe first, that Zechariah i. 7. as a later prophecy than Zechariah i. 1, delivered in the *eighth* Jewish month in the *second* of Darius, was later than Haggai ii. 10, delivered in the *ninth*: for Zechariah i. 7, was delivered in the *eleventh* month, and the foundation of the temple had been already laid before Zechariah i. 7, as well as before Haggai ii. 10; which is confirmed also by Zechariah iv. 9.

If, then, the *first* of Darius bore date from January B. C. 521, his *second* would bear date from January

tion xii. vol. iii. 485,) and 364 years reckoned back from the spring quarter of B. C. 606, bring us to the same time B. C. 970—exactly in the fifth of Rehoboam also. This is a remarkable coincidence.

* Yet—that is, as the Hebrew word answering to it means, *still*. By the end of the *ninth month* in the Jewish year, it should be remembered, seed time was commonly over.

^c 313. 4. also B. C. 521. Second edition. ii. 16.

^d Compare i. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11.

B. C. 520 : and the *eleventh* sacred month, which belonged to that *second*, must have preceded, not followed, the *ninth* which belonged to the same : nor was it possible for the *eleventh* of the sacred year to have come within the *second* of Darius, and yet to have been later in occurrence than the *ninth*, unless the years of Darius bore date sometime between the *eleventh* and the *ninth* ; and not between the *ninth* and the *eleventh*. Now Haggai i. 1. 15. ii. 1. 10. Zechariah i. 1. 7. vii. 1. laid together demonstrate that his years bore date neither *before* the *twenty-fourth* of the *eleventh* month, nor *after* the *first* of the *sixth* : which justifies the inference that they bore date critically between the two : either with the beginning of the sacred year itself, or sometime in the spring quarter of that year generally : and this is further confirmed by the testimony of Ezra vi. 15. and 1 Esdr. v. 6.

I do not mean to call in question the accuracy of the canon of Ptolemy ; nor do I conceive its authority to be endangered by what I am about to say. The testimony of Herodotus, however, with regard to the history of the kings of Persia, is equal to that of the canon ; especially when he comes to the reigns of Xerxes and of Darius : and it may be proved by the help of that testimony that Darius must have died B. C. 486, and therefore, as he reigned *thirty-six* years in all ^e, that he began to reign B. C. 522. With this view, I shall assume nothing but the date of the best authenticated fact in all ancient history, the date of the battle of Salamis, B. C. 480. If it can be proved that this battle was fought in the *seventh* of Xerxes *ineunte*, or the sixth *exeunte* ; the *seventh* of Xerxes, or the *sixth*, coincided with B. C. 480 : and therefore his first with B. C. 486.

^e Herodotus, vii. 4.

Now the reduction of Egypt took place in the *second* year after the death of Darius^f; consequently in the *second* of Xerxes. From the time of this reduction, *four* full or *entire* years^g were taken up in preparing for the expedition against Greece: which years beginning some time in the *second* ended at the same time in the *sixth* of Xerxes. Πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ^g, when the *fifth* year was begun, and proceeding onwards to its close, consequently, at the earliest, still in the *sixth* of Xerxes, the expedition was actually begun*. But it was begun in the latter half of B. C.

* There are critics, it is true, and chronologers of great celebrity who understand this allusion proleptically of the march from Sardis, B. C. 480, and not that from Susa, B. C. 481: but certainly not without doing violence to the most simple and most obvious construction of the text. It is making a distinction without a difference, and raising a mere dispute about terms, seriously to question whether the στρατηλασία as such of Xerxes began from Susa *before* the winter, or from Sardis *after* it: since it must be evident that when he had once begun his march, if there had been time the same year, he would have continued it. The stoppage at Sardis was due to the necessity of the case; the winter setting in at the time of his arrival there, and suspending all further proceedings until the spring. And Herodotus must have understood this accordingly; or he would not say that having wintered (χειμερίσας) at Sardis, with the return of spring (ἄμα τῷ ἔαρ) he resumed his march: vii. 37. cf. 26. 32.

^f Herodotus, vii. 7.

But if the expedition was truly and properly begun when Xerxes set out from Susa, the *four* years' preliminary preparations were over when Xerxes set out from Susa; and if the winter quarter was arrived or at hand when he came to Sardis, the autumnal quarter was arrived or at hand when he set out from Susa: for the example of the younger Cyrus is a proof that a much smaller force than the army of Xerxes could not have marched from Persia to Sardis in less than four months' time. If, however, the four years' preliminary preparations were over about the close of the summer quarter, B. C. 481, the reduction of Egypt had been completed about the same time B. C. 485: and the death of Darius cannot be placed later than the same time in the year before that, B. C. 486.

The time of the arrival at Sardis is further demonstrable by the help of the following considerations. When Xerxes arrived there he dispatched heralds into Greece, to demand

^g vii. 20.

481, for the winter was past at Sardis; and the Hellespont was not crossed until the spring, about the

earth and water^h; and when he was arrived at Thessaly, these heralds met him on their returnⁱ. It may be calculated that the army had been *then* not less than *two* months on the road; and that the heralds did not meet him sooner than the end of May, or the beginning of June.

It is asserted by Herodotus that just as Xerxes was setting out from Sardis, there was a remarkable eclipse of the sun^k: there is accordingly an eclipse in Pingrè's Table, April 8, B. C. 480, which would seem at first sight to be altogether such as Herodotus describes. But herein is a singular instance of disagreement between historical testimony, and the result of an astronomical calculation; for while the former is positive with respect to the fact of a *visible* eclipse in the spring of the year when Xerxes set out from Sardis, the latter shews an eclipse April 8, B. C. 480, at 11. 15. in the *evening* for the meridian of Paris, and therefore *invisible* at Sardis. There was another eclipse, it is true, B. C. 481, on April 19. central, and at *six* in the *morning*; which would consequently be visible both at Susa and at Sardis: but it seems utterly inconceivable, unless the

date of the battle of Salamis is to be advanced from B. C. 480, to B. C. 481, that this could be what Herodotus intended. It is more reasonable to suppose either that Herodotus is mistaken, in the fact of this eclipse, or by a lapse of memory has confounded it with the eclipse of the year before, or that were it to be recalculated, with the more accurate data which astronomers possess at present, it would be found to have been actually visible at Sardis, either April 8 or April 9: and consequently that one of these days was the time when the army began its march from thence^l.

Now in one month's time afterwards they had passed the Hellespont; consequently by the first week in May; and in three months more they arrived at Athens^m; consequently by the beginning of August. The march to the borders of Thessaly was about one third of this distance; the march thence to Thermopylæ was about another; and the march to Athens from Thermopylæ was about the remainder: we must allow therefore about a month to each of these intervals. And it agrees with this conclusion, that just after the battle of Thermopylæ, the Olympic festival was going

^h Herodotus, vii. 32. ⁱ Ibid. 131. ^k vii. 37. Aristides alludes to this eclipse, Oratio xlv. 241. §. 5: also the Scholiast in Proem. ad Æschyli Persas. So also Suidas, *Ξέρξης*.

^l Herodotus, ix. 8. 10. mentions another eclipse of the sun, just when the wall across the isthmus was completed, B. C. 479. Pingrè has a central eclipse, October 2, B. C. 480: a small eclipse, Feb. 28, B. C. 479. visible in the north of Asia, but not in Greece; and another, September 21, in the same year, scarcely to be called an eclipse, but merely an *attouchement extérieure*, of the disks of the sun and of the moon. It is possible, however, that the eclipse, October 2, B. C. 480, may be that to which Herodotus alludes, ix. 10. ^m viii.

month of April, because five or six months before the time of the battle of Salamis, which was Boëdromion, August or September, B. C. 480. The march of Xerxes, then, could not have begun later than B. C. 481, *exeunte*, on the one hand, nor earlier than his sixth year *ineunte*, on the other. If so, his sixth year *ineunte* must have coincided at the latest with B. C. 481, *exeunte*: and therefore his first *ineunte* with B. C. 486, *exeunte*. But even this is too late a computation; for as the whole calculation is deduced from the time of the reduction of Egypt, unless that reduction took place at the very end of a year, neither could the *first* of Xerxes have begun at the very end of a year. It is much more probable that the reverse was the case; that his years bore date from the spring or summer quarter of some year: and therefore his first bearing date from that time B. C. 486, his sixth did so from the same time B. C. 481; and his seventh from the same time B. C. 480.

The same conclusion follows if we reckon backward from another indubitable date, that of the battle of Marathon, the sixth of the Attic month Boëdromion*,

on ⁿ. The arrival at Thermopylæ would not be earlier than the beginning or the middle of July; about which time the Olympic festival, B. C. 480, must have been actually celebrated.

The heralds, therefore, met Xerxes on their return about the end of May or the beginning of June: and they could not have been less than four or five months absent on their mission. They could not have been sent then later than the end of January or the beginning of February. If so, neither could Xerxes have arrived at Sardis

later than the end of January or the beginning of February; nor consequently have set out from Susa later than the end of September or the beginning of October.

* Plutarch, *Operum* ix. 420. De Herodoti Malignitate: vii. 378, 379. De gloria Atheniensium: Camillus, 19: dates the battle of Marathon on the sixth of Boëdromion, the battle of Salamis on the twentieth of Boëdromion. Cf. Polyænus, *Strategematum* iii. xi. 2. Yet Plutarch, De Gloria Atheniensium, *loco citato*, and Ly-sander, 15: dates the battle of

ⁿ Herodotus, viii. 26.

B. C. 490. *Three* years of renewed preparation followed on that defeat; in the *fourth* year Egypt revoltedⁿ; and in the *fifth* year Darius died^o. This fifth year being deduced from the close of the summer quarter B. C. 490, would begin with the same time B. C. 486: and Darius might die as soon after its beginning as we please.

The beginning of the reign of Darius is necessarily connected with the length of the reign of Cyrus: and this is differently represented by ancient authorities; some putting it at twenty-nine years, others at thirty: which statements would obviously be consistent, if the one were understood of complete years, and the other of current. One thing is certain; according to Herodotus he died in the summer quarter of some year^p; and according to Xenophon, in the spring^q. The reign of Cambyses too is reckoned by Herodotus at seven years complete, and five months of an eighth^r. It seems therefore a reasonable inference that both together they ought to be computed at thirty years *plus* seven, or twenty-nine *plus* eight; that is, thirty-seven years complete: whence if the one began at a certain time, Olympiad 55. 1. B. C. 559, the other expired at the same time, Olympiad 64. 2. B. C. 522. The reign of Cambyses was followed by that of Smerdis;

Salamis on the sixteenth of Munychion. That its true time was during the celebration of the mysteries, Boëdromion 16—20, is proved by Herodotus, viii. 65. 113. Cf. the Persæ of Æschylus. There is still some difficulty with respect to the date of the battle of Marathon: which Herodotus, vi. 106. 120, would imply to have been fought after the *ninth* of some lunar month

at least: unless it should be said, that as the Spartans were *three* days in marching to the field of battle, if the battle was fought on the sixth, they would arrive on the ninth of the same month. But the Spartans did not set out until after the full of the moon: and could the full of the moon, B. C. 490, have fallen on Boëdromion 6?

ⁿ Herodotus, vii. 1.
7. §. 1.

^o vii. 4.

^p i. 214.

^q Cyropædia, viii. 6. §. 22.

^r iii. 66, 67.

a reign of seven months in duration^s; which beginning some time in the first half of B. C. 522, would not expire until the same time in the second. On this principle the reign of Darius might truly begin some time between the *first* and the *sixth* sacred month; and nearer perhaps to the latter than to the former; a conclusion which squares exactly with what has been already shewn: especially from Haggai and Zechariah.

The order or succession of subsequent kings is not disturbed by this supposition that the reign of Xerxes began B. C. 486. To Darius and to Xerxes in conjunction the canon assigns fifty-seven years complete; which beginning B. C. 522, would expire B. C. 465. But it says nothing of the odd months of the reign of Artabanus, after the death of Xerxes; which yet, there is no more reason to suppose included in the *last* year of Xerxes, than in the *first* year of Artaxerxes. In this case the nominal *Thoth* of Artaxerxes might be really the *Thoth* of Artabanus; and coincident with the demise of Xerxes. But this *Thoth* is December 18, B. C. 465; seven months from which would bring us to June or July B. C. 464, as about the true *Thoth* of Artaxerxes: which also will agree with what was established elsewhere^t.

The first of Darius, then, bearing date in, or not long before, the sixth month in the sacred year, that is, Elul, B. C. 522, his second would bear date from the same time, B. C. 521. The allusion therefore to seed-time, or to the future harvest, in the *ninth* month of this year, would be both possible and probable; for it would be just after the beginning of the *sixth* year of the sabbatic cycle—a year which the providence of God was already pledged to bless in a triple proportion to

^s Herodotus, iii. 67.

^t Dissertation xv. vol. ii. 16, 17.

any other: and the appositeness of this very coincidence to the language of the prophet is no slight confirmation of the conclusion itself, that the second of Darius was such a year in particular. The very difficulty, then, suggested by these words, turns out, upon examination, to be in harmony with every other case; and a strong corroboration of the truth of our previous deductions. Nor is it the least satisfactory result of its solution, that it has been the means of establishing so clear an agreement between Herodotus, the oldest of profane historians, and the testimony of two contemporaries, Haggai and Zechariah; an agreement which, if it were necessary, ought to outweigh even the authority of the canon of Ptolemy. But the authority of this canon is in no danger from any such consent; since it does not profess to be minutely exact; and pays no attention to parts of years as such. The first *Thoth* of Xerxes, according to this canon, is made to have synchronised with December 23, B. C. 486^u; between which, and the close of the thirty-sixth of Darius, if that was the Jewish Elul in the same year, the difference is only three or four months*.

* The authority of the canon of Ptolemy is undoubtedly very great, and its general accuracy is undeniable. But with regard to the question at issue, no authority, which it can possess, ought to be considered greater than that of the testimony of contemporaries, Haggai and Zechariah: according to whom, if the second of Darius coincided with B. C. 520, B. C. 520 was no part of a sabbatic year. But if any of the years before it, B. C. 709—708, B. C. 590—589, and still more, if any of the

years after it, B. C. 163—162, B. C. 135—134, B. C. 37—36, were sabbatic years, then B. C. 520—519, must have been so too; and these facts are so certain, that they may be assumed with confidence. We are reduced then to this dilemma; either of supposing that no sabbatic years were celebrated in the time of Haggai and Zechariah, as they were before and after it; or not by the same rule in their time, by which they had been celebrated *before*, and by which they were celebrated

^u Fasti Hellenici, cap. 5. 247.

B. C. 521, there was an eclipse of the moon, for the meridian of Jerusalem, June 24, at 4. 27. in the morn-

after—or of supposing that the second of Darius did not coincide with B. C. 520, and if so, that neither did his first with B. C. 521. Which of these suppositions in itself is the more probable, no one can hesitate to decide: a supposition too, supported by the evidence of the oldest of profane historians, and next to contemporaries, Haggai and Zechariah, the nearest to the times in question.

A document, like the canon of Ptolemy, which follows an artificial rule in computing the lengths of its reigns; which pays no regard to fractions of years as such; which refers the beginnings and the ends of reigns to the *Thoth* of a year which was perpetually shifting backwards; it might be presumed, *a priori*, would be liable at least to trifling errors. The very principle of its reckoning supposes that the *Thoth* which it assigns to a particular reign is but an approximation to the truth; and that it can never be critically exact unless the *Thoth* of the year of Nabonassar, and the day of the king's accession, both fell out together. There might, then, upon its reckoning, be as much as a year's difference between the nominal *Thoth* and the true: which, in cases where strict exactness was requisite, would obviously be a source of mistake. The advocates of the canon may say this difference can never exceed a year; but a year will often be the utmost wanted to reconcile things together which would otherwise be incongruous—as

the very subject under discussion is sufficient to prove. They may say also that it is always a year at the utmost in excess, and never in defect; that a certain king's reign might begin *on*, or *after*, but never could *before*, the nominal *Thoth* assigned to it: whereas we are supposing the true *Thoth* of a reign to have fallen out in B. C. 522, the nominal *Thoth* of which is placed in B. C. 521. It may be said, too, that these errors of excess, whether greater or less, are all admitted by the canon knowingly—whereas an error of defect, of whatsoever nature, would not be admitted except unknowingly. And is it impossible that an involuntary error might be committed? is it impossible that, at the distance of time when Ptolemy was compiling the canon, the exact day and month, when the reign of Cyrus, of Cambyses, or of Darius, actually began, might be unknown—and not within the power of any sagacity to determine? Now the precise truth, with respect to these points, would be necessary, in order to the solution of the problem whether the *ninth* Jewish month, in the second of Darius, was the *ninth* Jewish month B. C. 520, or not. The determination of the year in general, and that of the month, and much more of the day in the year in particular, when a given reign began, would be very different things; and the former might be sufficiently possible when the latter would be absolutely impracticable. The prin-

ing. If we reckon back three mean lunations from this time, we obtain a mean full moon, March 27, 2. 15.

ciple of the canon itself seems to be a tacit admission of this: for we cannot suppose it would begin with referring—and ever after continue to refer—its reigns to a nominal ἀρχή, if it had always been possible, especially with the most ancient, and consequently with the first of the number, to ascertain the true. Now each reign, even the most recent, might all be referred to a nominal date, though all, and particularly the most ancient, could not be to their true. Hence, if the necessity of the case had obliged the canon to begin with the use of a nominal ἀρχή, regard to uniformity merely might require it to persevere in it afterwards. During so remote a period as the first two or three hundred years of Nabonassar, it does not seem possible for the canon to have been constructed on any other principle; but we find the same rule applied to the reigns of the successors of Alexander and of Augustus, the very day of whose beginnings, and not merely the years, were known, or admitted of being determined. It is most probable that this was done for the sake of uniformity; that so the construction of the canon, and the mode of its technical application, might be the same from first to last.

The days of Ptolemy, thne, for the most ancient periods of the canon, may be after all conjectural; or only so far certain, as to determine the year in which such and such a reign truly began: but not the pre-

cise part of it. And with respect even to this determination, it might not always be so exact, but that the following case might sometimes happen; viz. that if the demise of *one* king actually took place towards the end of a certain year of Nabonassar, the Thoth of his successor might still be fixed to the beginning of the next. In such a case as this, where the end of one reign and the beginning of another happened as it were between two Nabonassarian years, Ptolemy might not always know where to fix the end of the one, and where the beginning of the other. Now this is what seems to have occurred in the succession of Darius and Xerxes.

For the same reasons, neither are the eclipses which Ptolemy mentions from time to time, as falling out in such and such years of Nabonassar, and such and such years of the reigning king, any necessary argument that he has fixed the beginnings of those reigns aright. The eclipses might happen in the specified years of Nabonassar; but that would be no proof that they happened in such and such years of the reigns. For Ptolemy himself accommodates *these* years to *those*; and if he had made a mistake in their *first* adjustment, that mistake would be retained in their subsequent synchronisms: in consequence of which an astronomical fact, referred to a particular year of Nabonassar, might be true of that, but not always of the current year of the king, supposed

in the afternoon: and if the next day coincided with Nisan 15, then Tisri 15 coincided with September 21, Chisleu 24 with November 28, and Elul 24 with August 31. Seed-time was arrived or past Chisleu 24, in the second of Darius; and it might well be so, November 28, B. C. 521.

It will follow from this conclusion, that the month Adar in the sixth of Darius, when the second temple was finished, coincided with Adar, B. C. 516. There was an eclipse in that year, on March 3, at 9. 30. in the morning; by the help of which it may be proved that the Paschal full moon coincided with April 2. If so Nisan 15 was April 2; and therefore Adar 3 was February 19. Now February 19, B. C. 516, would fall on the same day of the week as February 14, B. C. 16: and February 14, B. C. 16, was Thursday. The temple, therefore, was finished on a Thursday. In like manner August 31, B. C. 521, fell on the same day of the week as August 26, B. C. 21: and that day fell on a Tuesday. The temple, therefore, was begun on a Tuesday. Chisleu 24, or November 28, the date of the prophecy of Haggai, on the same principle was a Sunday*.

to be coincident with it. Yet the lunar eclipse in the 225th Ær. Nabon. and the seventh of Cambyzes, July 16, B. C. 523, (*Mathematica Compositio*, v. 14.) would truly happen in the *seventh* of Cambyzes, though we dated his first from B. C. 529, *medio*^v: and the similar eclipse, Ær. Nabon. 257, April 25, B. C. 491, (*Ibid.* iv. 8,) would truly happen in the *thirty-first* of Darius, though dated from the autumnal quarter of B. C. 522^v:

and even the eclipse, supposed to have happened in his twentieth, November 19, B. C. 502^w, (*Ibid.* iv. 8,) would be either in his *twentieth*, or at the utmost at the very beginning of his *twenty-first*.

* There is a further argument in favour of the hypothesis that the beginning of the sabbatic cycles, as such, was B. C. 1513, and the first sabbatic year was B. C. 1507—1506, which, being of a more doubtful nature, I

^v Cf. *Fasti Hellenici*, cap. 18. 313. and Pingrè's Table. Analysis, i. 182.

^w Cf. Dr. Hales'

have not thought proper distinctly to adduce; but which I will take the liberty of mentioning here, as there may be persons with whom even this argument will have some weight.

It is a tradition of the Jewish rabbis, that the commencement of the Legal sabbatic cycles coincided with the first year of a corresponding Mundane cycle, as deduced from the creation downwards; that is, that the first sabbatic year under the Law, and any subsequent one, would have been a sabbatic year, had such years been observed from the time of the creation itself. Upon the authority of this tradition I do not pretend to decide; but it derives some countenance from the institution of the sabbath, and from the doctrine of the sabbatic millennium. For the observance of a *seventh* year was analogous to the observance of a *seventh* day; and both, it might be expected, would proceed alike from the beginning of the mundane system: and the duration of the world for seven thousand years, if any such term is prescribed to it, is equivalent to a period of one thousand sabbatic cycles. It

may be proved, however, that even upon this principle, B. C. 1507—1506, would have been a sabbatic year.

The cycle of sabbatic years began and ended with the autumnal equinox: but the world, as we have seen to be most probable, was brought into being at the vernal. It was created, therefore, at the *middle* of some year of the cycle; which half year, nevertheless, according to the well known rule of Jewish or scriptural computation, might be considered as equivalent to a whole year. Hence, if the mundane system began at the vernal equinox, B. C. 4004; the *first* year of the first cycle, as such, must be supposed to have expired at the autumnal, B. C. 4004, also: and the first seventh year, as such, at the autumnal, B. C. 3998. Subtract B. C. 1506, the close of the first Levitical sabbatic year from B. C. 3998: and the difference, 2492, is an exact multiple of seven. For $2492 = 356 \times 7$. Hence, had B. C. 3999—3998, been the *first* sabbatic year, B. C. 1507—1506, would have been the *three hundred and fifty-seventh*.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XXIII.

On the Population of Judæa in the Time of our Saviour.

Vide Dissertation xxiii. vol. ii. page 292. line 23.

BEFORE we proceed to speak of the population of Judæa in the time of our Saviour, it will not be amiss to take a survey of the numbers of its inhabitants, at different periods of its former history; so far as they can be collected from the facts on record in the Old Testament.

The number of grown up male Israelites, who came out of Egypt at the Exodus, B. C. 1560, exclusive of strangers and Levites, is put in round numbers at 600,000; and was in reality, 603,550^a. At the time of the second numbering, B. C. 1520, they amounted, with the same exception, to 601,730^b.

Each of these statements implies a gross total, in round numbers, of 2,400,000: to which if we add the number of the Levites, female as well as male, from a month old and upwards, as it may be collected from the data given on the second occasion^c, viz. twice 23,000 for both in conjunction—the total amount of the people of Israel, which took possession of the promised land, exclusive only of strangers, was not less than 2,446,000.

At the time of the civil war between the tribe of Benjamin and the rest of the tribes, the military population of the eleven tribes was 400,000, and that of the

^a Exod. xii. 37. xxxviii. 26. Numb. i. 46. ii. 32. xi. 21. xxvi. 51.

^c Numb. xxvi. 62. Cf. iii. 39.

^b Numb.

tribe of Benjamin was 26,700^d. This was upon an average about 36,000 to each of the eleven tribes in general; and consequently in proportion to what is specified of the tribe of Benjamin in particular. The total population of the country being reckoned four times the amount of both, was about 1,704,000.

* In the first year of Saul, B. C. 1094, the military population of Israel and Judah was not less than 330,000^e: nor consequently the total population less than 1,320,000.

At the time of the expedition against the Amalekites, Saul's army amounted to 210,000^f: which, from the proportion of the quota of the tribe of Judah on this occasion to the quota furnished by it on the former one, viz. 10,000 in proportion to 30,000, I should infer was a third part of the whole military population of the kingdom. The whole population was consequently twelve times 210,000, or 2,520,000. And that this conclusion is not an improbable one, appears from the numbers of the military population of certain of the tribes, in the first of David, B. C. 1054, immediately after the death of Saul; more especially those of Ephraim, Manasseh, Zebulun, Dan, Asher, Reuben, and Gad^g.

At the census in the time of David, B. C. 1018, ac-

* Judges vi. 35. vii. 3: in the first year of Gideon, B. C. 1290, the military quota from the four tribes, Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, all which fol- lowed Gideon, was 32,000: and Judges xii. 6, in the first year of Jephthah, the numbers who perished of the Ephraimites, amounted to 42,000.

^d Judges xx. 1. 2. 7. 8—11. 17. xxi. 5. 8. 9. xx. 15. 35. 44—47, 48. xxi. 3. 6. 16, 17. 23. Suidas, voce *Σαμψών*, giving an account (from some lost commentator, we may presume) of this war, estimates the numbers killed (on both sides, as we must suppose) at 87,000; which both the Book of Judges, and the *o*, and Josephus, make in all only 22,000 + 18,000 + 25,100, or 65,100. So some of the MSS. of Ambrose read, ii. 136. D. *De Officiis Ministrorum*, iii. 19. §. 116.
^e 1 Sam. xi. 7, 8. ^f 1 Sam. xv. 4. ^g 1 Chron. xii. 23—37.

according to the numbers in the First of Chronicles^h, the military population of the nation, exclusive of Levi and Benjamin, was 1,570,000; which implies a total of 6,280,000, without those two tribes: and if they be included, at the rate of no more than one tenth of the wholeⁱ, the gross amount is increased to 6,900,000, and upwards, in all. It appears further from 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18, that besides the native population, there were 153,600 ablebodied men, strangers or sojourners, living in the country at the same time, in the reign of David, or directly after it; which implies an addition to the sum total of the inhabitants in the reign of David, of 614,000, and upwards: so as to make the entire amount 7,514,000, and upwards.

Out of these numbers, it further appears that 24,000 served by courses in the reign of David, each for a month at a time^k; that is, David's standing army was always 24,000, though changed every month. 288,000 then, came into rotation every year.

The military population of Judah and Benjamin alone, about the first of Rehoboam, B. C. 974, was not less than 180,000^l.

Abijah and Jeroboam took the field against each other, about B. C. 957, with 400,000 + 800,000, or 1,200,000^m; which is not an incredible statement, if we suppose that almost all the disposable military population of either kingdom was called out upon this occasion. It implies a population of 4,800,000, in all.

^h xxi. 5, 6. Cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. Suidas, voce *Δαυὶδ*, referring to this census of the military population of Judæa in the time of David, states the number of fighting men at *τλβ' μυριάδες*, that is, 3,320,000: Cedrenus, at *σλβ' μυριάδες*, 2,320,000. Both are, undoubtedly, in excess; and each is probably a corruption of the numbers, 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, 1,300,000. ⁱ Cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. xxiv. ^k 1 Chron. xxvii. ^l 1 Kings xii. 21: 2 Chron. xi. 1. Sulpicius Severus, i. 72. §. 7, if there is no error in his text, reads 300,000: and that there is no error in his text, as some of his commentators have conjectured, may be inferred from the comparison of this passage with another, ii. 16. §. 11. where these numbers are put at 320,000. ^m 2 Chron. xiii. 3, 17. Cf. Suidas, *Ἀβίας*.

David or Solomon could have raised an army nearly double the amount.

Asa's standing army, about B. C. 950, consisted of 300,000 men of Judah, and 280,000 of Benjamin^o: 580,000 in all. The gross population of his kingdom was consequently 2,320,000 at least.

Jehoshaphat's standing army, early in his reign, about B. C. 911, was 300,000 + 280,000 + 200,000, or 780,000 men of Judah; 200,000 + 180,000, or 380,000 men of Benjamin^p: 1,160,000 in all: which implies a total population of 4,640,000.

Jehoahaz, the king of Israel, about B. C. 840, had a standing army of but 10,000^q.

In the reign of Amaziah, about B. C. 823, the military population of Judah and Benjamin, from 20 years old and upwards, was 300,000^r; which implies a total population of 1,200,000. Uzziah his son, about B. C. 807, had a standing army of 307,500 + 2,600^s: or 310,000 and upwards: which implies a population of more than 1,240,000.

In the reign of Ahaz, about B. C. 739, Pekah king of Israel slew more than 120,000 of the tribe of Judah in one day, all of the military age; and made prisoners 200,000, men and women, besides^t. If we reckon the men as such out of both these numbers, at 220,000, it will imply a total population of at least 880,000.

Lastly, Josephus states the numbers who returned with Zerubbabel after the captivity^u, at the prodigious multitude of 4,628,000 men and boys from twelve years old and upwards; besides 47,042, women and children, &c. This statement, if there be no corruption in his numbers, though undoubtedly erroneous and

^o 2 Chron. xiv. 8.

^p 2 Chron. xvii. 14—19.

^q 2 Kings xiii. 7.

^r 2 Chron. xxv. 5.

^s 2 Chron. xxvi. 12, 13.

^t 2 Chron. xxviii. 6. 8.

^u Ant. Jud. xi. iii. 10.

excessive in itself, yet implies that he knew the country, repopled by these settlers, to have been capable of containing that number of inhabitants at least.

Notwithstanding the difference which thus appears to have existed in the amount of the population of the country at different times ; and the suddenness with which the numbers of that amount are seen at one time to rise and at another to fall ; there is nothing incredible in the statements themselves, nor any inconsistency between them. One thing is certain ; viz. that the population of the country increases or decreases in proportion to what is recorded in the general history of the times, of the obedience or disobedience of the people ; and resolving both effects into the controlling providence of God, we may still perceive that there is a sufficient interval of time in each instance, to account for the production of either of these phenomena. The amount of the population of all Judæa was greatest at the close of the reign of David, when it exceeded seven millions and an half ; and that of the kingdom of Judah in particular was at its maximum in the reign of Jehoshaphat, when it exceeded 4,600,000. And these are precisely the two periods of Jewish history, when, on other accounts, we should expect to find the subjects either of the kings of Israel, or of the kings of Judah, flourishing most as in the enjoyment of every other temporal blessing, so in numbers and population.

The use, however, which I propose to make of these facts, is for the sake of the further question, What was the probable amount of the population of Judæa at the time of the commencement of our Saviour's ministry ? If it should appear, as the result of our inquiries, that it was not less than seven millions, and possibly was even more ; what has been already established of that

population in former times, will contribute to render this conclusion nothing surprising. Judæa, it has been already shewn, once contained as many, and even more, than these.

The populousness of Judæa is a circumstance often insisted on by profane writers^v; and there is little doubt that, in proportion to its size, it was the most abundant in numbers of any country within the Roman dominions. Strabo tells us, that in his time the small territory of Jamnea and its suburbs could bring into the field an army of 40,000 men^w: which would require a general population of 160,000. Ptolemy Lathurus, in the reign of Alexander Jannæus, between B.C. 102 and B.C. 75, made 10,000 prisoners at Asochis, a city of Galilee^x, near Sepphoris. Tarichææ in Galilee had not fewer than 30,000 inhabitants, when it was taken by Cassius, about U.C. 702^y. In the time of Josephus, U.C. 819, the same city could supply 40,000 soldiers^z, and therefore had a general population of at least 160,000. The Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea, when destroyed by the Greeks, U.C. 819, amounted to more than 20,000: and those of Scythopolis to more than 13,000^a. Josephus raised an army 100,000 strong, U.C. 819, in Galilee alone^b; and what is more, upwards of 100,000 men assembled at Tarichææ in arms, from the neighbourhood, in a single night^c. In Japha, a city of Galilee, there were at least 29,000 inhabitants, U.C. 820^d: and in Jotapata, not less than 41,000 men alone, besides women and mere children^e; who might be as many more.

These facts may prepare the way for the better reception of the statement of Josephus, concerning the

^v Diodorus Sic. lib. xl. Ecloga 1. Operum x. 215-219. Tacitus, Historiæ, v. 5.
^w Lib. xvi. 2. §. 28. 347. ^x Ant. Jud. xiii. xii. 4. ^y Ant. Jud. xiv. vii. 3.
Bell. i. viii. 9. ^z Bell. ii. xxi. 4. ^a ii. xviii. 1. 3. ^b ii. xx. 6. ^c ii.
xxi. 3. ^d iii. vii. 31. ^e iii. vii. 36.

population of Galilee in his time. Διακόσiai καὶ τέσσαρες, says he^f, κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰσὶ πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι : not one of which contained fewer than fifteen thousand souls^g; and many of them, especially the cities, as we may presume, would contain much more. To assume, however, the average population of every town or city at 15,000, and to understand the specified number of such towns and villages of both the Galilees; on these suppositions the population of all Galilee amounted to 3,060,000 souls.

The whole extent of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba, that is, from Beersheba to Cæsarea Philippi, is estimated by Reland^h at 156 Roman miles; of which, 52 miles, or one third, must be assigned to the length of Galilee, Upper and Lower, in particular*. And as the latitude or breadth of the country (that is, of the habitable part of the country, west of the Jordan) was sufficiently uniform, if the population of every part was on an equal scale, the population of the whole in general would be three times the population of a third part in particular. On this principle the population of Palestine, west of the Jordan, must be estimated at 9,180,000 souls. In this number, however, the in-

* Hieronymus, Operum ii. 608. *ad calcem*. Epistolæ Criticæ: Respondeant mihi, qui hanc terram (quæ nunc nobis Christi passione et resurrectione terra repromissionis effecta est) possesam putant a populo Judæorum, postquam reversus est ex Ægypto; quantum possederit? utique a Dan usque Bersabee, quæ vix centum sexaginta millium in longum spatio tenditur . . . et hoc dico, ut taceam quinque Palæstinæ civitates, Gazam, Ascalonem, Geth, Accaron et Azo-

tum, Idumæos quoque a meridiana plaga vix septuaginta quinque millibus ab Jerosolyma separatos, Arabas et Agarenos, quos nunc Sarracenos vocant, in vicinia urbis Jerusalem. pudet dicere latitudinem terræ repromissionis, ne ethnicis occasionem blasphemandi dedisse videamur. ab Joppe usque ad viculum nostrum Bethlehem, quadraginta sex millia sunt: cui succedit vastissima solitudo, plena ferocium barbarorum.

^f Vita, 45.

^g Bell. iii. iii. 2.

^h Palæstina, ii. cap. v. 423.

habitants of Judæa, east of the Jordan, are not included ; and their country, which was once adequate to the support of two tribes, and one half, out of the twelve, would probably supply a million of souls additional. The population of all Palestine, then, both west and east of the Jordan, would appear to be, on this principle, not less than ten millions of souls.

If this number should seem to be too considerable, in proportion to the extent of the country, we ought to remember that it once contained almost as many in the reign of David ; and had all parts of Palestine been peopled in proportion to Judæa Proper, in the reign of Jehoshaphat, it would have contained even more in his time.

There is an assertion in Dio Cassiusⁱ, that the emperor Hadrian, in his war with the Jews, destroyed 985 κῶμαι ὀνομαστούταται, besides a certain number of strong holds. If the numbers in this passage are not corrupt, it implies that the country in the time of Hadrian contained at least 985 κῶμαι or vici, (besides which in fact there was scarcely any thing else in Judæa.) As that is about five times the number of κῶμαι or πόλεις which Galilee alone contained in the time of Josephus ; it is manifest that, in order to be consistent with the statement of Josephus, we must understand the assertion of Dio of an extent of ground five times as large as the surface of Galilee ; that is, of the whole of Palestine, both westward and eastward of the Jordan. In that extent of country perhaps 985 κῶμαι or πόλεις might be found : all of which, a war like that of Hadrian's, which devastated the entire surface of the land, might have successively taken and laid waste. There is reason to believe that all Palestine joined in the revolt of the Jews under Bar-

ⁱ lxi. 14.

chochab, and that all of it, both eastward and westward of Jordan, shared in the calamities of the war.

Assuming, then, the correctness of this statement of Dio, as well as of that of Josephus, before cited, we might argue as follows. If all Palestine, in the reign of Hadrian, contained 985 κῶμαι or πόλεις, it could not have contained fewer in the time of our Saviour: if every city or village of Galilee in particular, in the time of our Saviour, contained upon an average 15,000 inhabitants—every city or village of the country in general may be computed to have contained on an average 10,000 at least. On this supposition also the entire population of Palestine must be estimated at nearly ten millions.

We are not to suppose, however, that all these were Jews. The inhabitants of Samaria would be one third of the population of Palestine, west of the Jordan; and these must be excepted from the number. If we compute them at two or three millions, it leaves seven or eight millions for the number of the native Jews, west and east of the Jordan: and if we subtract one million more for the inhabitants of the parts beyond the Jordan, it leaves six or seven millions for the native population of the country west of the Jordan. And this conclusion may be further confirmed by the following argument.

From the number of victims computed to have been sacrificed at the passover, U. C. 819, Josephus^k estimates the numbers who attended on that occasion at 2,700,000. As the average, on which the computation is founded, is confessedly a very low one, allowing only ten persons to every victim, instead of fifteen, (the proper average between ten, the number which constituted the least single, paschal company, and

^k Bell. vi. ix. 3.

twenty, which constituted the greatest,) it is evident that we may consider it to represent no more than that part of the native population, which ordinarily attended the passovers; without taking into account the strangers, or Jews of the Dispersion, who likewise repaired to Jerusalem for the same purpose. Now these would be the male adults, from twenty years old and upwards: and properly speaking none but they. They are called, accordingly, by Josephus, the *men* as such. Their numbers then, U. C. 819, being 2,700,000, the gross native population of all Judæa, at the same time, was about 8,100,000. Even after the passover, in question, when Cestius Gallus the president of Syria, was in Jerusalem, the *δῆμος* or people are said to have flocked about him to the number of three hundred myriads, or three millions¹, to make their complaints against Florus: which also is an argument that the computation above given is to be understood of the natives who attended, but of none else.

The same passage of the war^m estimates the numbers which perished in the siege of Jerusalem, or were made prisoners afterwards, at 1,197,000: in which would be included both the ordinary population of the city, and the numbers who happened to be there assembled, against the feast of the passover, when the siege began. Of its ordinary population something will be said by and by: but with respect to any additions made to it at this juncture by the resort of strangers to the feast, it is probable that during the war there would be no Jews of the Dispersion present at any of the feasts; for, independent of the risk which they themselves must have run in coming at such a time, it is clear that the Roman government,

¹ Bell. ii. xiv. 3, 4.

^m Bell. vi. ix. 3.

out of whose dominions, or through whose dominions, they must all have passed to arrive in Judæa, would not, if possible, permit it. In the fifth year of the war too, after Galilee had been reduced, and nothing but Jerusalem and Judæa Proper itself remained to oppose the Romans; it is not likely that any strangers would resort to Jerusalem at the intervening passover, except the native Jews more immediately from its vicinity. The numbers then who appear to have been assembled at the last passover, are no just criterion of the numbers who attended the passover in general; nor perhaps of the population of any part of the country but Judæa Proper. And if we suppose that one third of its entire population was collected in the metropolis on this occasion; as that appears to have been little short of a million two hundred thousand, the entire population could not be much less than three or four millions*.

With regard to the probable amount of the population of Jerusalem, Manetho, we may observe, in his account of the expulsion of the Hycsos from Egypt, tells us they settled in Jerusalem, a city built by them on purpose, and large enough to contain their numbers, which he represents at 240,000ⁿ. It must be implied by this statement, that Jerusalem, in the opinion of Manetho, or such as it was in his time, was adequate to contain this number of inhabitants. Ma-

* Julius Pollux, Chronicon, p. 198, observes, that the numbers who perished at the siege of Jerusalem, U. C. 823. were computed by some at *τριακόσιοι μυριάδες*, or three millions. He does not mention his authorities, nor whether they took this statement from Josephus, or drew the conclusion from

data furnished by him; which, however, might be the case. This computation of the numbers who perished in the siege alone is certainly overstated; but it proves that in the opinion of the writers, here referred to, the entire population, if assembled on the spot, could not have been less than three millions.

ⁿ Josephus, Contra Apionem, i. 14. 13. 501. C. D.

Cf. Eusebius, Evangelica Præparatio, x.

netho's age was the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B. C. 284.

In the time of Hecataeus the Abderite, Olymp. 117, B. C. 312, or earlier, Jerusalem was supposed to contain 120,000 inhabitants °. The same writer estimated the number of priests at 1,500. The priests, according to Josephus, were divided into four φυλαί, each of which, in his time, had contained, or did contain, more than 5000 persons p. Perhaps Hecataeus is to be understood of one only of these φυλαί. Even in that case, if the particular order of priests had multiplied from his time to that of Josephus, nearly four-fold, the general population of Jerusalem, and of all the country, might have done the same.

According to the second of Maccabees q, Jerusalem in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes did not contain less than 160,000 inhabitants. Suidas r, in an extract given anonymously, puts the numbers, slain by him there, even at 180,000.

By Tacitus s the number of the besieged in Jerusalem, U. C. 823, including persons of all ages, male and female, is estimated at 600,000; where some manuscripts indeed read 200,000. Tacitus appears to intend this statement of the total population of the city; but Orosius, quoting from him and Suetonius, makes it the number of the slain. The number of the inhabitants, and that of the slain, however, would be pretty much the same thing in this instance; as almost all the former are known to have perished in the siege. Six hundred thousand dead bodies, of the poor and destitute exclusively, Josephus tells us, were carried out of the different gates of the city: and these had perished of the famine alone t.

° Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, i. 22. 1188. p Ibid. ii. 8. 1245. q v. 14. Cf. Theodorit, ii. 1280. in Dan. xi. 23. r Ἀντίοχος. Cf. *Βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*. s *Historiæ*, v. 13. Cf. Orosius, vii. 9. Prosper, *Chronicon*, p. 705. t *De Bello*, v. xiii. 7.

If we revert to the estimates of the magnitude of Jerusalem, cited in *Dissertation Forty-third*, vol. iii. p. 284, 285, we shall find it variously represented at twenty-seven, thirty-three, forty, fifty, and sixty stades respectively. Among these numbers, it has been already shewn, in the note to the *Dissertation* above referred to, that the actual extent of the third or outermost wall of the city, inclusive of the Bezetha or Cænopolis, was probably 45 stades. The magnitude of the new Jerusalem, described by Ezekiel, *xlvi. 35. 16*, was 18,000 measures; which, if understood of cubits, would be equivalent to about 45 stades^u: if of reeds of six cubits each, (see Ezekiel *xl. 5*.) would be six times as much. The outermost wall of all, which appears to have been 45 stadia in circuit, it would seem from the account of Josephus did not go round the city, but embraced at the utmost only three sides of it; on the west, north, and east, as far as the brook of Cedron^x.

Now it is nothing improbable that the Bezetha in the course of time might come to be as large as one fourth of the city; so as to make the extent of a wall, which should encompass them both, between fifty and sixty stades in circuit^y. Strabo's statement, then, though manifestly only a conjectural one, that the magnitude of Jerusalem was sixty stades, may be very near the truth. On this principle, the size of Jerusalem was probably one half the size of Alexandria in Egypt; and one fourth less than that of Antioch in Syria. The population of Jerusalem was perhaps in

^u Cf. Eusebius, *Evangelica Præparatio*, ix. 35. 452. B—C. v. iv. 1, &c. Cf. v. iv. 2. and v. xii. 2.

^x De Bello, v. ii. 3. It appears to me, indeed, that the extent of the Bezetha was as near as possible the difference between 33, the extent of the old wall, and 45, that of the third; or twelve stadia: and that the entire circuit of the city, independent of Bezetha, was not less than 39 stades, the extent of the wall of circumvallation drawn round it by Titus.

the same proportion to that of those two cities; one of which we have shewn to be about 800,000, and the other about 600,000. The population of Jerusalem was therefore about 450,000: and if it was as great and populous as Mazaca, or Cæsarea, in Cappadocia*, which I think may very fairly be supposed, the population of that city when sacked by the Persians, in the reign of Valerian, about A. D. 260, is represented at 400,000^z.

Our admiration of the populousness of Palestine, at this period of its history, will be increased by a comparison of the number of its inhabitants, with the amount of the population of Egypt at the same time. It will be found that though greatly disproportionate to Egypt in point of size, it was nearly equal to it in the numbers of its population.

We are told of the city of Thebes in Egypt, that it once contained 7,000,000 of inhabitants: with a perimeter of 400 stades, 13,030 κῶμαι, and 3,700 aruræ of territory, round about it^a. This statement, even if true, is doubtless to be understood of the population of the Thebaid; at that time perhaps the whole of Egypt. The Egyptian priests informed Germanicus Cæsar^b, U. C. 772, that 700,000 men once marched out from its gates under their king Rhamses. But even this implies but a gross population of 2,800,000 inhabitants. In the time of Strabo, Thebes had a perimeter only of 80 stades; and Diodorus speaks of its original one, as but 140 stades^c. Cambyzes and Ptolemy La-

* Or even as Milan in Italy; of Justinian, was not less than the population of which, when 600,000, men and women, inclusive: so Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, ii. 21. 234. l. 6-10. taken and destroyed by the Goths, A. D. 540, in the reign

^z Zonaras, xii. 23. i. 630. C. ^a Stephanus De Urbibus, *Διὸς πόλεις*. Eustathius, ad Dionysium Periegetem, 248. ^b Tacitus, *Annales*, ii. 60.
^c Strabo, xvii. 1. §. 46. 598. Diodorus, i. 45.

thurus are said successively to have ruined, and laid it waste*.

In Herodotus' time, the two military castes of Egypt, the Hermotybi and Calasiries, could supply together 410,000 soldiers^d. This implies a total of 1,640,000. And as these two castes occupied 16 out of the 36 nomi of Egypt^e, the entire population of the country, at the same time, was perhaps only about twice their amount, 3,280,000.

The same writer informs us that the total number of men and women who met at Bubastis in his time, to celebrate the feast of Diana, was 700,000^f. If we understand him to mean that this was the amount of the male and adult population of Egypt, in his time, it will nearly agree with the preceding conclusion; for then the gross population may be computed at 2,800,000. But if it includes the female adults as well as the male, then even the former conclusion is too much in excess; and the sum of the gross population cannot be estimated at more than twice 700,000; that is, than 1,400,000[†].

In this case, it is scarcely to be believed, as Herodotus further asserts^g, that Egypt, in the time of Amasis, contained 20,000 cities: or these cities could be

* Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 4, adds, the Carthaginians, and the first Roman procurator of Egypt, Cornelius Gallus: to the treatment of Thebes by whom in particular he attributes Augustus' displeasure with Gallus. The fact in question is noticed by Eusebius, *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum*, Pars ii^a. 257. Ad annum Abrahami 1992, and by Jerome, in *Chronico*, p. 154.

Ad annum Abrahami 1989, (both answering to U. C. 727,) just before the account of the death of Gallus, under the next year. Ælian, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 27, seems to refer to the same event.

† Herodotus, however, does not necessarily mean all the adult population of Egypt of both sexes; though he may the greater part of it.

d Lib. ii. 165, 166.

e Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1. §. 3. 477, 478.

f ii. 60.

g ii. 177. Cf. Pliny, H. N. v. 11. also Pomponius Mela. i. 9.

little more than *κᾶμαι*, and those too only very thinly peopled. That mere villages were frequently in the description of countries confounded with cities, we may see from Strabo's observations on the number of cities said to be contained in Spain ^h.

Theocritus has a remarkable passage, in which he reckons the dominions of Ptolemy Philadelphus to contain the exact number of 33,339 citiesⁱ. But it is very evident that he includes much more within the compass of his dominions, than Egypt merely; for he proceeds to enumerate Phœnicia, Arabia, Syria, Libya, Æthiopia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, the Cyclades, &c. as either wholly or in part subject to him.

Perhaps Diodorus had this statement in view, when he asserted that Egypt contained 30,000 cities in the reign of Ptolemy Soter; and the assertion of Herodotus before his eye, when he mentioned that at a former period of its history also it had contained 18,000^k. When he added, however, that even in its most flourishing period, the reign of Ptolemy Soter itself, the number of its inhabitants was but 7,000,000, he gave us sufficiently to understand, that these cities, if they actually existed, could not have contained 240 inhabitants apiece.

This statement of the gross population of Egypt, understood of the time of Ptolemy Soter, is probably not incorrect. If it contained, in the time of Herodotus, about three millions of inhabitants, it might contain, in the reign of Ptolemy Soter, about 150 years afterwards, rather more than twice the same number. The intervening period upon the whole was favourable to the growth of population; Egypt, for any thing we know to the contrary, not only having shaken off the

^h Lib. iii. 2. 376. 3. 412. 4. 435. Cf. Eustathius, ad Dionysium, 281: Pliny, H. N. iii. 4. vii. 27.

ⁱ Idyllia, xvii. 77—85.

^k Lib. i. 31.

Persian yoke, but continued in the enjoyment of almost uninterrupted peace and tranquillity, until the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, by whom it was again invaded and subdued B. C. 350¹.

Notwithstanding, however, its populousness at this period of its history, it was again so much decayed in the time of Diodorus, who visited the country in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes, about Ol. 180, B. C. 60, as to contain no more than three millions of inhabitants^{m*}; that is to say, the rate of its population in the

* It is to be observed, that some of the editions of Diodorus omit the word *τριακοσίων* in these instances; so as to make the passage imply that the population of Egypt in Diodorus' time was still as much 7,000,000, as it ever was. The propriety of this omission, on critical grounds, I fear, cannot be defended. For *τριακοσίων* is the Vulgate reading, and therefore the best supported by MSS: that is, all the MSS. of Diodorus have the reading in question, with the exception of one—in which it is omitted. Now it is quite conceivable that though *τριακοσίων* originally might have made part of the text, yet taken along with the context, and as opposed to *ἑπτακοσίας* just before mentioned, it would be found, in the course of time, in some instance or other to be omitted: but if it never made a part of the text at first, it is almost impossible to say how it came to be introduced into it afterwards. There might be a disposition in copyists, under the circumstances of the case, to omit the *τριακοσίων*, or to suspect the genuineness of that reading; but

there could be none, under the same circumstances, to introduce it from another quarter; for that would be to create the very difficulty, which they would naturally be anxious to remove. For, what is the ground on which Wesseling and others would reject the *τριακοσίων* from the text? Is it not simply, because they consider it incredible that if the population of Egypt was anciently 7,000,000, it could have been reduced to 3,000,000, in Diodorus' time? and would not this difficulty occur as naturally to readers or copyists of his history in former times, as to its editors in modern? And if so, though there might be a constant tendency to omit the *τριακοσίων*, even though the author had left it in the text—there could be none to introduce it without warrant from him.

Besides, the context of the passage appears very plainly to me to intimate, that Diodorus was contrasting the ancient state of Egypt with its condition in his own time—both as referred to the state and condition of other countries anciently and

¹ Diodorus Sic. xvi. 46—51.

^m Lib. i. 31.

time of Diodorus was about the same with that in the time of Herodotus; though at the intermediate period of the reign of Ptolemy Soter, a greater distance from the time of Diodorus than from that of Herodotus, its numbers were more than double the rate of its population at either. That this change of circumstances was not peculiar to Egypt, but one which had affected most parts of the known world besides, might be shewn from the testimony of Diodorus himself. The decay of a given population, under the operation of causes calculated to produce such an effect, may be as rapid, as its increase under the action of causes of a different kind: and were it necessary here to enumerate them, many probable reasons might be assigned for the fact of a gradual diminution in the numbers of the inhabitants of Egypt, between the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second of the Grecian princes who reigned there, and that of Diodorus.

After the reduction of Egypt, however, U. C. 724, B. C. 30, from which time it became subject to the government of Roman procurators, down to U. C. 819, a period of 95 years, the whole Roman empire enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and no part of it more than Egypt. The long reign of Augustus in particular

still, in other respects, and especially in point of population and the number of cities which they possessed; and the point of the contrast consisted in this, that anciently Egypt excelled all other countries in these respects—and even in Diodorus' time it was inferior to none of its contemporaries in the same—though not so considerable then, as it once had been. This, I say, is the drift of Diodorus' observations in the present instance. So far from asserting the con-

tinued populousness of Egypt—from the earliest times to his own—he implies quite the reverse; that between those times and his own the population of Egypt had gone back, with this difference only—relatively to other countries—that Egypt was not the only country which had decayed in comparison of what it once had been; and, however much Egypt might have gone back, compared with its former self, other countries had gone back still more.

was one of uninterrupted prosperity to that province of the empire; and none accordingly flourished more than Egyptⁿ, under the successive administration of a series of moderate and prudent prefects, as those of Augustus, appointed to Egypt in particular, appear to have been. The population of a country, naturally fertile and abundant in every thing that could facilitate the support of a family, and contribute to the multiplication of the human species, could not fail to increase rapidly under such circumstances. We know from various authorities that the proportion of births was no where so great as in Egypt. Columella mentions that the production of twins was almost of regular occurrence there and in Africa^o; and Aristotle and Trogus tell us that even seven children had been known to be born at a time in Egypt^p *. The practice of exposing their new-born children, as Strabo informs us^q, was unknown to the Egyptians; who were in the habit of rearing all the children they might have, how many soever they were: and no doubt the non-existence of this unnatural and inhuman custom among the Egyptians, would conduce as much to the increase of their population in particular, as its prevalence among the Greeks and Romans, to an extent of which we are perhaps incapable at present of forming even an adequate idea, must have contributed to the depo-

* Cf. *Ælian*, *De Natura Animalium*, iii. 33: who speaks of the fecundity of the goat or sheep in Egypt, in the same terms, and from the same cause.

In Ambrose's time, the last half of the fourth century, the

most populous parts of the empire were notoriously Egypt, Africa, and the East, properly so called: as appears from his remarks, *De Virginitate*, cap. vii. §. 36. *Operum* ii. 222. D. E.

ⁿ Cf. *Strabo*, xvii. 1. §. 13. 522. ^o iii. 8. Cf. *Herodian*, vii. 10. ^p *Aristotle*, *De Animalibus*, viii. 5. §. 1. Cf. *Pliny*, H.N. vii. 3. *Strabo*, xv. 1. §. 22. 46. *Solinus*, *Polyhistor*, i. §. 51. Also, *Aristotle*, *De Animalibus*, viii. 4. §. 5. *Eustathius*, ad *Dionysium Periegetem*, 221. ^q *Lib.* xvii. 2. §. 5. 633.

pulation of Greece and Italy, and of many other parts of the empire.

It appears accordingly from the speech of Agrippa the younger, U. C. 819, as reported by Josephus, that the population of Egypt in his time amounted to 7,500,000, exclusive of the inhabitants of Alexandria^r; the number of which, as we have seen from Diodorus, understood of its free population, was about 300,000. Diodorus shewed that ἀναγραφαὶ, or muster-rolls, of the citizens of Alexandria were kept in his time; and Agrippa, in the above-mentioned speech, calculates the gross amount of the population in question from the tribute or poll-tax, levied by the Roman government upon all the inhabitants of Egypt, καθ' ἐκάστην κεφαλὴν. The amount of this tax is of no importance to our argument; though from an incident recorded of the reign of Vespasian^s, it seems to have been six oboli, one drachma or denarius, upon each person. We may infer also, from what Appian relates of the poll-tax imposed by the Romans on the allies of the Carthaginians, after the capture of the city, B. C. 146^t, that it was or might be levied on the women, as well as the men. If such was the case in Egypt at this time, the men and women being to be reckoned at 7,500,000, exclusive of Alexandria, the gross population, including all under the age of twenty, might be one half more, about 11,000,000, exclusive of Alexandria. The slave population of the country, exclusive of Alexandria, was perhaps one third more, so as, inclusive of Alexandria, to make the sum total upwards of 15,600,000.

The Jews who were settled in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, according to the Pseudo-Ari-

^r De Bello, ii. xvi. 4. 482.
135. Cf. De Rebus Syriacis, 50.

^s Dio, lxvi. 8.

^t De Rebus Punicis, viii.

steas amounted to 120,000. By the time of Philo Judæus, whose work *De Legatione* was written in the reign of Claudius, they amounted throughout Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, &c. to about one million. In Alexandria, more particularly, we have seen that their numbers were about two fifths of the population of the city; but this is manifestly no criterion of the proportion of their numbers to that of the sum total of the population of Egypt. U. C. 868 or 869, in the reign of Trajan, they were sufficiently numerous to destroy at once, in Cyrene of Libya, and in the neighbourhood, 220,000 Greeks and Romans^u, besides those who perished in Egypt.

Agrippa, in his speech above cited, tells the Jews of Jerusalem that Egypt paid more tribute to the Roman government in one month, than they did in a year. The tribute of which he speaks was probably the poll-tax; which the incident in the Gospels relating to the tribute money, implies to have been the denarius or drachma in Judæa as well as in Egypt. Perhaps we may infer from this statement that the population of Egypt was more than twelve times that of Jerusalem: an assertion, which would still be true, though Jerusalem had contained as many as 600,000 inhabitants, and Egypt not more than 7,500,000: much more if Jerusalem contained about 450,000, and Egypt as many as 11,000,000, two thirds of them liable to the tax in question.

To revert, however, from this digression, to our original subject. If Galilee contained, within its limited extent, 204 towns, and more than three millions of souls, almost half the population of Judæa; we need no other answer than the statement of this fact, to a question which may probably often have occurred to reflecting

^u Dio, lxxviii. 32.

minds—Why the ministry of our Lord, for by far the greater part of its duration, was exclusively confined to that country? There might be many sufficient reasons why it should not be permanently discharged in Judæa Proper; and if any part must be fixed upon, distinct from that, what could be fitter than Galilee? What scene could be more favourable for the spiritual harvest, on which, at the commencement of his ministry, he was preparing to enter? or what tract of country in the Roman empire, at the same juncture of time, can be shewn to have been, in proportion to its extent, so thickly peopled? Where, in short, could our Lord's ministry both have been fixed and discharged, so as to be fixed and discharged among his brethren, according to the flesh, and so as to dispense its benefits among them on the widest possible scale—with more propriety than here?—where not much less than half the population of the country, in general, was ready assembled within a third of the territory, in particular.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XXIV.

On the Computation of Roman Hours.

Vide Dissertation xliii. vol. iii. 283. line 7.

I HAVE had frequent occasion, in different parts of my former Dissertations, to allude to the divisions of a Roman day: and I have uniformly proceeded on the supposition that the computation of its hours, at every period in the year, began precisely at sunrise, and ended precisely at sunset.

The learned and excellent Dr. Townson in his Observations on the Four Gospels devotes a chapter^a to the discussion of this question; the result of which, if I have collected his meaning rightly, is the conclusion that, at the equinoctial points of the year, the first hour of a Roman day coincided with seven in the morning according to our reckoning, and the twelfth with six in the evening. Dr. Townson, indeed, does not further say distinctly that he supposed the first hour to begin to be *current* at seven, A. M. and the twelfth at six, P. M.: yet he seems to imply it by the scheme of coincidence which he has proposed, between the Roman and the modern computation of time, at the points of the year in question. I hope, then, I shall not be considered as doing injustice to his memory, if I suppose this to have been his opinion, and in what I am about to say, if I reason against it accordingly.

The investigation of Roman hours being altogether intended for the illustration of the mode of reckoning

^a Dissertation viii. Part ii.

the parts of a day, which we find to be observed in the Gospels; it is singular that Dr. Townson, who justly contends that the Roman divisions of the day were now current among the Jews, should not have perceived in this fact the strongest of all presumptive proofs that a Roman day began with sunrise, and ended with sunset. A Jewish *νυχθήμερον*, or evening and morning, began and ended at sunset; the point of sunrise being the intermediate boundary between them. The sabbath in particular was, by the appointment of the Law, to be always reckoned from evening to evening: and that this was the mode of reckoning it in the time of our Saviour, appears from Josephus, *De Bello*, iv. ix. 12: where it is said that a priest was wont to be stationed upon the Pastophoria of the temple, on purpose to announce, by the sound of a trumpet, both the coming in and the going out of the sabbath, in the *evening* of the day. It is not indeed said that this trumpet was sounded exactly at sunset; but it is implied that the priest was stationed on the Pastophoria in particular, which looked westward, that he might be the better able to watch and to notify the moment of the sun's disappearing. On this principle, the twelfth or last hour of the sixth day of the week, among the Jews at least, must always have ended, and never have begun, with sunset.

John xi. 9, 10: our Lord says to his disciples, Are there not *twelve* hours in the *day*? If any man walk in the *day*, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the *light* of this *world*. But if a man walk in the *night*, he stumbleth, because there is no *light* in *him*, (or rather, in *it*, that is, the world.) These words imply that, among the Jews, at this time not only both the day as such, and the night as such, consisted of twelve hours each; but also that the twelve hours of the day ended,

and the twelve hours of the night began, at the precise time when the *light* of the world disappeared; which in its proper and primary sense in this passage, is most reasonably to be understood of the *sun*.

Mark xiii. 35, a text which we have before alluded to, is a *locus classicus* in illustration of the divisions of the night. It mentions ὀψέ, μεσονυκτίου, ἀλεκτοροφωνίας, and πρωΐ, all as certain periods or points of time, at any of which, an event which must happen sometime in the night, might possibly take place: as early in the night as ὀψέ, and yet as late in the same as πρωΐ. This is sufficient to imply that it could scarcely be considered to be night, before the period denoted by ὀψέ; and that it must cease to be so after πρωΐ.

It is also implied that the points of time, respectively denoted by each of these periods, are to be supposed at equal distances from one another; in which case the divisions themselves, of which they denoted the close, would correspond to the *four* watches of the night; the fourth or last of which, as currently spoken of among the Jews of this time*, we find mentioned by name, Matt. xiv. 25: Mark vi. 48. These watches of the night embraced each the period of three hours: and as the se-

* The proper name for this watch was the morning watch; under which name mention of it occurs as early as the time of the Exodus, xiv. 24. Dr. Townson is of opinion that the Greeks had only three night watches: but as the Romans had certainly four, from whose usage, and not from the Grecian, the Jews were most likely to have borrowed a similar division of nocturnal time—even if they had not had it among them from time immemorial—this does not affect the decision of the present

question. Besides, there is a passage at the beginning of the Rhesus of Euripides, which implies that in the time of the Trojan war, or of Euripides, or both, the Greeks themselves made a fourfold division of the watches of the night. Βάσι πρὸς εὐνὰς τὰς Ἑκτορέους | τὶς ὑπασπιστῶν ἄγρου πνος βασιλέως, | εἰ τευχοφόρων δέξαιτο νέων | κληδὸνα μύθων, | οἱ τε τράμοιρον νυκτὸς φρουρὰν | πάσης στρατιᾶς προκάθηται. Cf. Suidas, in the Gloss upon Exodus xii. 42. Προφυλακὴ τῷ Κυρίῳ: also, in Φυλακή.

cond of the number, expiring with the close of the sixth hour of the night, coincided with the point of midnight; it follows that μεσονυκτίου, in the above enumeration of the parts of the night, corresponds to the *close* of the second watch of the night: on which principle ὁψὲ would answer to the *close* of the first; ἀλεκτοροφωνίας to the *close* of the third; and therefore πρωὶ to the *close* of the fourth*. The first of these denominations, then, expresses the *close* of the third hour of the night; the second, that of the sixth; the third, that of the ninth; the fourth, that of the twelfth. It follows consequently that πρωὶ, the last denomination in question, was the exact point of time when the night as such ended, and the day as such began: that is, it was the intermediate point between the twelfth hour of the one and the first hour of the other†.

Dr. Townson, if I have not mistaken him, does not sufficiently distinguish between πρωὶ and πρωῖα. He gives the name of πρωὶ to a period which expired, as he supposes, with sunrise; and therefore was the same with πρωῖα. Now the proper meaning of πρωὶ is not to express a duration or period, but an instant, or determinate point of time; which I believe was always the moment of sunrise‡. Πρωὶ at one end of the

* The commentator quoted by Suidas, Πρωὶ, observes: Πρωὶ δέ ἐστι πᾶν τὸ διάστημα, τὸ μετὰ τὴν ἀλεκτοροφωνίαν.

† Artemidorus, Oneirocritica, i. 8: μὴ δεῖν (μηδὲν) διαφέρειν νομίζοντας εἰς πρόγνωσιν τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἡμέρας, μήτε (μηδέ) τὴν δειλὴν ἑσπέρας τῆς δειλῆς πρωῖας. Here we have a double δειλῆ recognised, in the sense of dusk or dawn, twilight or crepusculum, the one as much before sunrise, as the other after sunset. In like manner, Aratus, Diosemeia, 14: οὔτ' ὠκεανοῦ

ἀρύνται | ἀστέρες ἀμφιλύκης, οἷτε πρώτης ἔτι νυκτός | : we perceive that ἀμφιλύκη (viz. dawn) at one end of the day, answers to πρώτης ἔτι νυκτός, or dusk, at the other: in either case, the same period of twilight, or imperfect light, being denoted by the interval in question.

‡ Julius Pollux, Onomasticon, lib. i. cap. 7. sect. 7, makes πρωὶ synonymous with περὶ ἡλίου ἐπιτολάς, or ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος. Cf. the Hieroglyphica of Horapollo, lib. i. cap. 10. p. 16: ὑπεκτείνονται

day is properly opposed to $\acute{\alpha}\psi\acute{\epsilon}$ at the other; and $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (sc. $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$) to $\acute{\alpha}\psi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (sc. $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$): $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}\alpha$ * being the interval between daybreak and sunrise; $\acute{\alpha}\psi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ that between sunset and the fall of night.

Dr. Townson argues from Matt. xx. 9—12, in the parable of the labourers, that the eleventh hour in a Jewish day was an hour before sunset. If this means that it began an hour before sunset, the parable does not authorize such an inference. The Homily upon this parable, ascribed to Chrysostom^a, will satisfy any one, who will take the trouble to peruse it, that at Antioch the eleventh hour was considered to end, and not to begin, an hour before sunset: and the parable itself supposes the day as such to expire with the *heat* and the *burden* thereof; the former of which is most naturally understood of the moment of sunset, the latter of the close of the twelfth hour.

Aulus Gellius (lib. xvii. 2.) has preserved a fragment of one of the laws of the twelve tables; Sol occasus suprema tempestas esto†. The words are borrowed from a law of the Athenians, $\acute{\omicron}$ $\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$: which is a sufficiently clear intimation that by

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$ —where also $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}$ and sunrise are used synonymously. The same passage implies that the opposite end of the day coincided with sunset. That the first hour began with sunrise may also be inferred from lib. i. cap. 49. Plutarch, Crassus, 17, records an anecdote concerning Crassus and king Deiotarus, when the former was marching through Asia on his Parthian expedition, U. C. 700, which illustrates the opposition between $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}$ at one end of the day, and the twelfth hour at the other:

$\acute{\omega}\delta$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron-$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$; (Crassus had found the king, at an advanced age of life, engaged in founding a city—and he meant to address to him an observation somewhat like Horace's—Tu secunda marmora | Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulcri | Immemor struis domos. To which Deiotarus replied, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ $\omicron\upsilon\delta'$ $\acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\omega}$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\rho$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}$, $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}$ $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.)

* Suidas, $\Pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}\alpha$: η $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}-$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$.

† Cf. Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. p. 52.

a Operum viii. Spuria, 100. A.—101. A. cap. 2.

the appointment of the twelve tables, the civil or legal day, at Rome, was to end with sunset.

Servius, in a passage which has been quoted among the notes to Dissertation xlii. vol. iii. page 214. observes that *crepusculum*, *crepera* or *dubia lux*, was properly a part of the night; but that usage or the *mos loquendi* had agreed to refer it to the day *. Will any one say, it is *crepera* or *dubia lux* after sunrise? But if the *crepusculum* necessarily terminated at that point of time or earlier; night as such must also have terminated, and day as such must have begun at or before the same.

Nor need I observe how improbable it must appear *a priori*, and how repugnant to the natural order of things, that two hours, more or less, of daylight in the morning, at every period in the year should be considered to make a part of the night. This is particularly inconsistent with the habits of the ancients generally over the Roman empire; and especially in the East; where the two first hours of daylight were the most actively employed, and the most stirring part of the day.

If I have not misrepresented the opinion of Dr. Townson, the foundation of his mistake appears to me to be this; that in the many instances of allusions to the hours of the Roman day, which he has carefully collected, he must have understood the reference to the hour, of the hour *incipient* or *current*; not *final* and *complete*. Now this construction is contrary to the *usus loquendi* at present; and I think it is equally so to that of former times. It is true, that as soon as the shadow of a gnomon, or the finger of a

* Varro, De Lingua Latina, dictæ Creperæ, quod crepusculum dies etiamnum sit, an jam
loco citato: Crepusculum significat dubium; ab eo res dubiæ
nox, multis dubium.

clock, is past the point of one hour, the next begins to be current; but no one thinks of saying the time of the day is such and such an hour, until the index is actually upon it.

It is not necessary to examine afresh the passages produced by Dr. Townson. That they may be understood in every instance of the hour *current*, I admit; but they are not less capable of being understood of the hour complete. And this is the case with that passage from Palladius, *De Re Rustica*, on which Dr. T. chiefly insists. The shadow of a perpendicular pole, says Palladius, goes on decreasing from the *first hour* to the *sixth*, when it is shortest. Now such a pole will begin to cast a shadow, as soon as the sun begins to shine upon it; and the shadow will continue to grow shorter and shorter, from that time until noon. Why then may not Palladius have reckoned the first hour to begin at sunrise, and the sixth to expire at noon?

I have cited elsewhere^b an epigram copied from the statue of Memnon in Egypt; the purport of which was to record that one Publius Balbinus, a courtier of the empress Sabina, witnessed the phenomenon ascribed to that statue, in the fifteenth year of Hadrian, on the twenty-fourth of the Egyptian Athyr, at a time of the day when

ὥρας δὲ πρώτας ἄλιος ἔσχε δρόμον.

Now the phenomenon in question took place only once in the twenty-four hours; and that at the time of sunrise *. It seems, then, that Publius Balbinus reckoned

* ἔνθα γεγωνὸς | Μένωνων ἀντέλλουσαν ἦν ἀσπάζεται Ἡὼ. Dionysius Periegetes, 249.

Strabo declares himself to have heard the sound in question, in company with Ælius

Gallus, the governor of Egypt and many others, (which would be about U. C. 729 or 730,) περὶ ὥραν πρώτην also; xvii. 1. §. 46. 599. Cf. Himerius, Oratio xvi. §. 1. p. 680. 682.

^b Vide supra, page 108.

the first hour of the day to begin with sunrise, which at the vernal or autumnal equinox would be at six in the morning with us.

Some allusions to the hours of day and night respectively occur in the Scholia upon the *Phænomena* of Aratus; and contribute to confirm the above account. Thus, Scholia, ad vers. 62: αἱ δύσεις καὶ ἀνατολαὶ πλησιάζουσιν ἀλλήλαις....κατὰ τὸν μεσημβρινὸν πόλον, ἤγουν κύκλον, ὃς ἐστὶ μεσαίτατος πάσης τῆς σφαίρας· ἐκεῖ γὰρ γενόμενος ὁ ἥλιος μεσημβρινὸς γίνεται, καὶ λοιπὸν ἐξδύμην ὥραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ δύσιν ἄρχεται ποιεῖν. And again, ad vers. 149: ἐν γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ θερινῇ οὐχ οὕτω κατὰ ἔκτην ὥραν μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἡλίου ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα τὸ καύματος, ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἐξδύμην. From both these passages, it is a natural inference that the seventh hour of day began to be current the moment the sun was arrived at the point of noon. Again, ad vers. 583. speaking of Boötes: προσλαμβάνει τῷ μεσονυκτίῳ, τοιτέστι ταῖς 5' ὥραις τῆς νυκτός, ἄλλας ὥρας δύο; which implies that the sixth hour of the night also expired with the point of midnight. Again, ad vers. 303 and 304: σῆμα δέ τοι κείνης ὥρας καὶ μηνὸς ἐκείνου | Σκορπίος ἀντέλλων εἴη πυμάτης ἐπὶ νυκτός—That is, says the Scholiast, ἐπὶ ὄρθρον· περὶ γὰρ ἐνδεκάτην καὶ δωδεκάτην ὥραν ὁ Σκορπίος ἀνατέλλει...ὁ γὰρ Σκορπίος μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς θεωρεῖται ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ ὀρίζοντος. This implies that the twelfth hour of night would expire with the appearance of the sun in the horizon, that is, with the point of *πρωῖ*. Cf. the Scholium on verses 309, 310: ὁ δὲ δύεται ἡῶθι πρὸ | ἀθρόος Ὁρίων—ὀλίγον γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας δύεται,

δωδεκάτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτός.

There is no passage, however, which seems to set this question in a clearer light than the following from Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvi. i. 447, where, having had occasion to speak of Valentinian's election to the empire, in a leap year, A. D. 364. and on the day before the Bissextile day itself, he enters into an account of the Julian year, and the reasons of the intercalation of an entire day every fourth year. Sed anni intervalum verissimum, says he, memoratis diebus et horis sex adusque meridiem concluditur plenam: annique sequentis erit post horam sextam initium porrectum ad vesperam. tertius a prima vigilia sumens exordium, ad horam noctis extenditur sextam. quartus a medio noctis adusque claram trahitur lucem. Nothing can be plainer than it hence is that the sixth hour of the day expired at noon, the sixth hour of night at midnight, and the twelfth at sunrise. In like manner, Philo Judæus, i. 692. l. 41. Quod a Deo mittantur somnia, lib. ii.: ὅταν μὲν γὰρ λέγωμεν, ἀπὸ πρωῒας ἄχρις ἑσπέρας ὥρας εἶναι δώδεκα, καὶ ἀπὸ νομηνίας ἄχρι τριακάδος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· συγκατατάττομεν τὴν τε πρώτην ὥραν καὶ τὴν νομηνίαν: which passage proves that the first hour began to be current from *πρωῖα*, that is, as it signifies here, from *πρωῖ*. Cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Physicos*, Liber ii. §. 183. 185. p. 664. and §. 242. p. 673. which obviously imply the same thing.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XXV.

On the journey of St. Paul from Philippi to Jerusalem,
U. C. 809. Vide supra, Dissertation xix. page 156—189.

IT may not be disagreeable to the reader to see the account of St. Paul's journey from Philippi to Jerusalem, U. C. 809, exhibited in detail; particularly as there have been objections raised that it could not be accomplished within the time supposed; and also because, among those parts of the New Testament, which furnish the data for probable calculations respecting the days of the week, and their coincidences with certain days of the month, this account is as full of information as any.

As the greatest part of the journey was performed by sea, the refutation of the objection above mentioned requires that something should be said in the first place concerning the rate of a ship's progress in a day and a night respectively; or the number of miles which might thus be travelled in twenty-four hours. Both these things are to be taken into account; for St. Paul sailed night and day; and the *diurna* and *nocturna navigatio* each had their appropriate measure. Qua de causa, observes Pliny, ad occasum navigantes, quamvis *brevissimo die*, vincunt spatia *nocturnæ navigationis*, ut solem ipsum comitantes^a.

Now not to fatigue the attention of the reader by the production of a multitude of examples, though a vast number might be collected; let me observe that

^a H. N. ii. 73.

the ancient geographers, such as Marinus or Ptolemy^b, when they employ the rate of a ship's sailing for the measure of distances, commonly put it at *one thousand* stades to a day and a night. Even the Periplus of Scylax, ancient as that composition has been supposed to be, reckons a night's sail equivalent to a day's, and each at *five hundred* stadia^c. But this is too low a computation, especially under favourable circumstances. Pliny tells us^d that Alexander, in his voyage down the Indus, never sailed less than *six hundred* stades in a *day*; and though the statement may possibly be false, yet it proves that he supposed it capable of being true. A day and a night's sail in the summer time, and with a favourable wind, is reckoned by Herodotus^e at *thirteen hundred* stades, or *one hundred and sixty-two* Roman miles: and such appears to have been the estimate of Strabo also^f. Agatharchides^g and Diodorus^h both take it for granted that a ship, which set out from Rhodes, would arrive at Alexandria in Egypt on the *fourth* day afterwards; and no passage could be more common than this: yet the distance is never calculated at less than *four thousand* stadia. St. Paul, in his voyage to Rome, was not more than *thirty-six* hours in sailing from Rhegium to Puteoliⁱ; a distance which cannot be estimated at less than *one hundred and fifty* Roman miles in *twenty-four* hours. There is a story in Pliny^k respecting the production of a fig in the Roman senate, which had been gathered *tertium ante diem Carthagine*; on the *fourth* day before at the latest. The ship which brought this fig had sailed, therefore, at least *one hundred and twenty-five* Roman miles in *twenty-four* hours. Nor

^b Ptolemæi Geographica, i. 9. ^c Apud Geographos Minores, i. 30. ^d H. N. vi. 21. ^e iv. 86. ^f xiii. 1. §. 63. 404. ^g Apud Geographos Minores, i. 48.
^h iii. 33. ⁱ Acts xxviii. 13. ^k H. N. xv. 20. Cf. Tertullian, Ad Nationes, ii. 16: Operum v. 196: Plutarch, Cato Major, 27.

was this any thing extraordinary; insomuch as even without wind or sails there were many examples, In tranquillo mari, nulloque velorum impulsu, *tertio* die ex Italia provectorum Uticam æstu fervente¹: and instances to this effect, or others of a similar description, are actually cited by Pliny^m; to which the reader is referred.

In like manner, Straboⁿ reckons *three hundred and twenty* stades, or *forty* Roman miles, an eight hours' sail; which is at the rate of *one hundred and twenty* to the twenty-four*. The circumnavigation of Sicily was computed by Ephorus at five days' and nights' sail; which according to the ancient rate of the measurement of that island, would be *one thousand* stades to the νυχθήμερον^o. The distance of the promontory called Criumetopon in Crete, from the nearest point in the opposite region of Cyrene, Eratosthenes computed at *two thousand* stades, Pliny at *two hundred and twenty-five* Roman miles, Strabo at two days' and two nights' sail^p. The distance between Sammonium, another of the headlands of Crete, the Salmone of St. Luke^q, from Alexandria in Egypt, not less than four thousand stadia, is called in like manner four days' and four nights' sail^p. Diodorus makes the island of Pityusa three days' and nights' sail from the pillars of Hercules, and one day and night's sail from the continent of Africa^r†: neither of which could be

* Dio, xxxix. 50, makes this distance 450 stades, Pliny, H. N. iv. 30, fifty Roman miles.

† Diodorus, *loco citato*, calls it

also one day's sail from the continent of Spain: which Pliny, H. N. iii. 11, shews to be a distance of 700 stades.

¹ Pliny, H. N. ii. 99. ^m xix. 1. Cf. Plutarch, Marius, 8. See also an instance in point, Procopius, De Bello Vandalico, i. 14. ⁿ iv. 3. §. 4. 49. ^o Pliny, H. N. iii. 13. Strabo, vi. 2. §. 1. Diodorus Sic. v. 2. ^p Pliny, H. N. iv. 20. Strabo, x. 4. §. 5. 229, 230. ^q Acts xxvii. 7. ^r v. 16.

less than *one thousand* stades to the νυχθήμερον, but must have been even more than that *.

Ὁμολογημένον γὰρ τοῦτο, says Marcian of Heraclea^s, ὅτι ἐπτακοσίους οὐριοδρομοῦσα ναῦς διὰ μιᾶς ἀνύει τῆς ἡμέρας· εὗροι (δέ) τις ἂν καὶ ἐννακοσίους διαδραμοῦσαν ναῦν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος τέχνης τὸ τάχος προσλαβοῦσαν· καὶ ἐτέραν μόλις πεντακοσίους διανύσασαν, διὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν τῆς τέχνης αἰτίαν. To which testimony of Marcian, we may add that of Aristides, Oratio xlviii. 483. §. 15 : καίτοι ναὺς πανημερία θέουσα ὑπ' ἀνέμου κατὰ πρύμναν πνέοντος, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ λιγέος, οὐκ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίου ἀνύσει μάλιστα, ἀλλ' ἴσως μᾶλλον διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσούτους ἐν εὐπλοίᾳ πολλάκις ἠνύσαμεν, τὸ πᾶν διελόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἡμέρας ὕστερον.

There can be no doubt that both the art of shipbuilding, and the art of navigation, like every thing else, must have improved with the course of time; and there is apparently authority from Pliny, vi. 24. to rate this improvement in the latter instance at almost three to one: Quondam credita xx dierum navigatione . . . ad nostrarum navium cursus, vii dierum intervallo taxato: and Pliny, it should be remembered, was a seaman himself, and commanded the Roman fleet at the very time of his death. St. Paul's voyage from Macedonia to Judæa was performed in the finest season of the year, and along a well-known route, through a sea the most familiar of all to the ancients: nor does he appear to have been once detained by stress of weather, or adverse circumstances of any kind. We should be justified, therefore, in estimating his progress for the four

* Livy xlv. 41. (Cf. Appian, ix. 17.) Plutarch, Æmilius Paulus, 36: Æmilius Paulus accomplished the passage from Brundisium to Coreyra, in nine hours'

time. Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, v. 101: Menodorus, U. C. 718, made a passage of 1500 stades in two days and nights and part of a third day, εἰρεσία only.

^s Apud Geographos Minores, i. 67.

and twenty hours uniformly at *one thousand* stades, or *one hundred and twenty-five* Roman miles, and *one hundred* British; and if the occasion required it at even *two hundred* stades more.

The object of St. Paul's last journey was to arrive in Jerusalem by the time of the recurrence of Pentecost; and we must begin with tracing it from Philippi; from whence it set out *after* the days of unleavened bread, or τὰ ἄζυμα^t; that is, not until the close of the Paschal week, U. C. 809, A. D. 56. In that year the mean full moon, as it has been already observed, fell upon March 20: but the Passover, according to our calculations, would be kept on March 19. The last day of the Paschal week A. D. 56, was consequently March 26: which the tables exhibit upon Friday, but which I should consider to be Sunday.

The language of St. Luke will not allow us to suppose that St. Paul set out before March 26: but he might have set out upon March 27: the necessity of which supposition will further appear hereafter. On this principle he would set out on a Monday. In five days' time he arrived at Troas; and at Troas he is said to have stayed *seven* days. Let us assume that as he left Philippi on Monday, March 27, so he arrived at Troas on Saturday, April 1, and that his seven days' residence there expired on Saturday, April 8.

The day when he departed again to Assus is called the *first* day of the week^u; and such it would be if these calculations are true: and I think the coincidence itself is a strong confirmation of their truth. The narrative indeed at first sight may be thought to imply that it was the day *after* the first day of the week; but upon further consideration, the circumstances of

^t Acts xx. 6.

^u Ibid. 7. 13.

the account must leave no doubt that St. Luke dates his *μία τῶν σαββάτων* from the time when the disciples met to break bread, and St. Paul's discourse, begun before *μεσονύκτιον*, or midnight, was protracted ἄχρις αὐγῆς, that is, until daylight, on the very morning of his departure. These particulars then began after the close of the Jewish sabbath, Saturday, April 8, and expired on the morning of Sunday, April 9.

Between April 9, *inclusive* and the day of Pentecost, May 9, *exclusive* the interval was just *thirty* days: and it was so spent partly by the time taken up in travelling, and partly by the stoppages specified in particular places that, according to the conjecture advanced, St. Paul must actually have arrived in Jerusalem the day before Pentecost, May 8.

I. From Troas to Assus the distance was not so great but that a person might easily accomplish it by a single day's journey on foot*. We may assume, then, that St. Paul took shipping at Assus, not later than Monday, April 10.

II. After he set sail from Assus, having touched the same day at Mitylene, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ he made the island of Chios; τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ he touched at Trogilium, a small island close by Samos^v; and τῇ ἐχομένῃ he came to Miletus. All this was by the regular track^w, and in no instance over a space which would exceed an ordinary day's sail; and in the last instance of all, it would not be one half so much †. We may assume,

* Confer Pausanias x. 12. who makes Marpessus 240 stadia distant from Alexandria Troas, which would be almost twice that of Assus.

† Apuleius, Florida, 128:

speaking of the relative distance of Samos and Miletus by sea from each other, observes, Utrumvis clementer navigantem dies alter in portu sistit.

^v Strabo, xiv. 1. §. 13, 14. 518, 519. Pliny, H. N. v. 37. 112. v. 37—39.

^w Pliny, H. N. ii.

then, that St. Paul would arrive at Miletus early in the day, not later than Thursday, April 13.

III. The distance of Miletus from Ephesus, according to the maps, was less than twice the distance of Ephesus from Magnesia ad Mæandrum : which Pliny calculates at fifteen Roman miles, and Strabo at a corresponding number of Greek stadia, one hundred and twenty^x. The entire distance from Ephesus to Smyrna, which was greater than from Ephesus to Miletus, is estimated by the latter only at three hundred and twenty stades^y. Hence the distance of Ephesus from Miletus, according to the *Tabulæ Peutingerianæ*, is considerably overrated : and it would be very possible that, if St. Paul sent messengers to Ephesus as soon as he arrived at Miletus, on Thursday, April 13, the elders from that church might be come to him at Miletus, and hear his parting address, on the morning of Saturday, April 15.

IV. On leaving Miletus he came first to Cos—and τῆ ἐξῆς to Rhodes ; and thence to Patara : the two former of which distances we will reckon at one day's sail each ; but the last was not so much. I assume then that he touched at Patara, early on Monday, April 17 : and therefore might find the ship, bound for Tyre, that same day*.

* Numerous instances might be produced of voyages to or from the Hellespont, along the track pursued by St. Paul, which would illustrate the truth and fidelity of St. Luke's account. I will mention one only—that of Pompey, as described by Lucan in the eighth book of his *Pharsalia*.

Setting out from Mitylene in Lesbos in the evening, (109.

146. 159.) it passes the same night, (195.)—Quas Asiæ cautes, et quas Chios asperat undas : | and the next day (202. 244.)—Ipse per Icaris scopulos, Ephesonque relinquens | Et placidi Colophona maris, spumantia parvæ | Radit saxa Sami : spirat de litore Coö | Aura fluens : Gnidon inde fugit, claramque relinquit | Sole Rhodon, magnosque sinus Telmessidos

x H. N. v. 31. Strabo, xiv. 2. §. 29. 651.

y xiv. 1. §. 2. 498. 2. §. 29. 651.

V. The voyage from Patara to Tyre was performed day and night by sailing straight across the sea; which appears from this circumstance; that though they made (*ἀναφάναντες*^z) the island of Cyprus, they did not touch at it, but left it upon their left. The distance between Patara and Tyre, in a straight line, according to Monsieur D'Anville, would amount to four hundred and fifty Roman miles. But at this time of the year the rate of St. Paul's progress might be one hundred and forty or fifty miles in twenty-four hours: so that had he left Patara on Monday, April 17, he might easily arrive at Tyre on Thursday, April 20.

VI. At Tyre he stayed *seven* days; the first of which might be Thursday, April 20; and, therefore, the last Wednesday, April 26. His next stage was Ptolemais; whither he proceeded by sea: and as the distance from Tyre to Ptolemais, even by land, was only a single day's journey^a, by sea it would not be half so much. The *one* day, spent at Ptolemais, might consequently be Thursday, April 27.

VII. The distance between Ptolemais and Cæsarea being about forty-four Roman miles^b, the day of his arrival in the latter place would be Saturday, April 29, or Sunday, April 30. The length of the stay there is stated at *ἡμέρας πλείους*; which may be understood of one week. Let Sunday, April 30, be the first day of this, and Saturday, May 6, the last.

VIII. The distance of Cæsarea from Jerusalem,

undæ | Compensat medio pelagi. Pamphylia puppi | Occurrit tellus:—only that, instead of proceeding to Patara, Pompey puts in for prudential reasons first at Phaselis, afterwards at Syedra

or Synedra in Cilicia; and when he resumes his route, 456, it is by Cyprus, to the right, towards Egypt, as St. Paul did his by the left, towards Tyre.

^z Acts xxi. 3.

^a Itinerarium Antonini, et Hierosolymitanum.

^b Ibid.

which Josephus reckons at six hundred stades^c, might be more than two days' journey, but it would be less than three. By setting out at the expiration of the Jewish sabbath, May 6, St. Paul might accomplish this distance before the commencement of the sabbath of Pentecost, sunset on Monday, May 8. The use of the term, ἀποσκευασάμενοι^d, with respect to the rest of the journey, is a proof that it was accomplished with dispatch.

The day after his arrival on which he was tried before Felix, and which he himself called the *twelfth* day ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβη^e, that is, the *twelfth* day *inclusive* from the day of Pentecost, May 9, *exclusive*, (for so we concluded it to be meant^f,) would be Sunday, May 21. On this supposition, the day when he was apprehended in the temple, which we left indefinite, may also be determined. Let us suppose that he was examined by Felix, on Sunday, May 21: if so, he arrived at Cæsarea (five days previously^g) on Tuesday, May 16: he was therefore dispatched to Cæsarea on Monday, May 15: consequently he had been examined before the council on Sunday, May 14: and therefore, had been apprehended in the temple on Saturday, May 13: which would be the *fourth* of the days of purification, dated from Wednesday, May 10, *inclusive*^h: and as those days should have lasted *seven* days in all, some day later than the *third* of them even St. Luke's language implies it to have beenⁱ. Moreover the circumstances of his apprehension shew that it was either *evening*, or the *sabbath*, at the time: otherwise his examination before the council would not have been deferred until the following morning^k: and this too is in unison with the above conclusions.

^c Ant. Jud. xiii. xi. 2. De Bello, i. iii. 5.

^d Acts xxi. 15.

^e xxiv. 11.

^f Supra, 190, 191. ^g Acts xxiv. 1. ^h xxi. 18, 26. ⁱ Ibid. 27. ^k xxii. 30.

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION XXVI.

On the rate of a day's journey.

Vide Dissertation xxi. vol. ii. page 218, 219, and Dissertation xxxviii. vol. iii. page 60—64.

THOUGH the estimation of distances by days' journeys is very common in ancient authors, yet the rate of a day's journey is far from being uniformly represented. At one time we may meet with it stated as low as *one hundred and fifty* Greek stadia; at another as high as *three hundred* or more; but most commonly at some number between these extremes, from *two hundred* to *two hundred and fifty*. It is possible, that in some instances these variations may be accounted for by differences in the assumed length of the stadium; in others by understanding the calculation of the rate of progress for long and continuous journeys, which would naturally be less than for a few days only; in others the statement is intended of the distance which might be travelled ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ, that is, by a person equipped for expedition. In the midst of this uncertainty, an ordinary day's journey may be safely estimated at neither less than *twenty-five*, nor greater than *thirty*, Roman miles, *two hundred*, or *two hundred and forty*, Olympic stadia, and *twenty*, or *twenty-four*, English miles. A day's journey, ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ, would be about one third more than this*.

* The reader will of course understand that this calculation of the length of an ordinary day's journey, even ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ, is not intended to apply to the special case of the Hemerodro-

These positions I shall illustrate by the citation of a few cases in point.

I. Instances of the rate in question have been already exemplified in the length of time necessary to travel from Judæa into Galilee, and from Cæsarea to Joppa^a. Yet Josephus makes Sebaste, the ancient Samaria, only one day's journey distant from Jerusalem^b: which though limited to its distance from Bethel, on the verge of Samaria and Judæa itself, is at the rate of thirty-five or thirty-six Roman miles to the day^c.

II. It is reckoned by Maimonides^d a six or seven days' journey from Jerusalem, *via Ascalonis*, to Egypt. Of this distance, as referred to Jerusalem and the river of Egypt, Gaza may be assumed as the mean point: and Gaza was just *eighty-one* Roman miles from Jerusalem^e; which for a three days' journey is at the rate of *twenty-seven* such miles to the day.

III. Thucydides reckons it eleven days' journey from Abdera in Thrace to the Danube; and thirteen from Byzantium to the Strymon^f. According to the best maps, the direct distance, upon this calculation, would allow somewhat less than twenty-five Roman

mi of antiquity; persons trained to running, and some of them capable of travelling 150 or 200 miles, in twenty-four hours, or less time, on foot. Many instances of such feats might be collected. Mr. Harmer informs us that there are still couriers or runners of the same description, to be met with in the piratical states of Barbary—and able to travel 150 miles on foot, in 24 hours: vol. i. ch. v. Obs. i. p. 418: see also Obs. viii.

Instances of extraordinary, and almost incredible dispatch of persons on horseback, are also on record. Vide what Socrates relates of the courier Palladius in the reign of Theodosius the younger, E. H. vii. xix. 357: and what is recorded of another, called Indacus, in the reign of Leo—of whom the extract quoted by Suidas, sub voce, gives a marvellous account. Cf. also the description of these *ἡμεροδρόμοι* in Suidas, sub voce.

^a Dissertation xxi. vol. ii. 219.

^b Ant. Jud. xv. viii. 5.

^c Relandi

Palestina, ii. v. 423. xiv. 510, 511.

^d De Ratione intercalandi, v. 10.

^e Jo-

sephus, De Bello, iii. ii. 1. Antonini Itinerarium. p. 151.

^f ii. 97.

miles to the day; and the road distance somewhat more.

IV. Herodotus in one instance reckons a day's journey at one hundred and fifty stades; in another at two hundred^g. But the former is for a long journey: and on the same principle Marinus and Ptolemy allowed one hundred and eighty stades to the day^h: and Timosthenes, admiral of Ptolemy Philadelphus, computed the distance from Meroë to Syene at sixty days' journey, which a party of observation, sent out by Nero, discovered by measurement to be 873 Roman miles; or at the rate of fourteen miles and an half to the dayⁱ.

V. Procopius De Bello Vandalico reckons a day's journey at two hundred and ten stades, the distance from Athens to Megara, or nearly twenty-six Roman miles exactly^{k*}.

VI. Livy makes *twenty-five* Roman miles and a day's journey synonymous expressions^l; and Polybius, in the parallel place of his history, specifies the same distance by *two hundred* stades^m.

VII. Horace, as he may be understood, seems to call it *an ordinary day's* journey from Aricia to the Forum Appiiⁿ. The Itinerary of Antoninus makes this more, the Jerusalem makes it less, than twenty-five or twenty-six Roman miles; while D'Anville's map puts it at that exactly[†].

VIII. Appian in the same passage estimates 1200

* It is to be observed, however, that Procopius, De Bello Gothico, i. 11, reckons 19 στήματα or miles equal to 113 stades—which is at the rate of about 6 stades to a mile.

† According to Strabo, v. 3. §. 12. 178, Aricia was 160 stades distant from Rome: according to Dionysius Hal. vi. 32, and Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, iv. 12. 194. B. it was 120. The latter com-

^g v. 53. iv. 101. ^h Ptolemæi Geographica, i. 11. 8. ⁱ Pliny, H. N. vi. 35. ^k i. 1. ^l xxi. 27. ^m iii. 42. ⁿ Sermonum i. v. 5, 6.

stades at five days' journey, and 6000 at thirty^o: the former implying 240 stades to the day, the latter 200.

IX. Strabo reckons it a six days' journey from Mazaca in Cappadocia to the Pylæ of Cilicia^p: and one day's journey from Sagalessus in Phrygia to Apamea^q. Both these calculations, according to the best maps, would not much exceed twenty-five Roman miles to the day. The same author calls it three or four days' journey from Jericho to Petra in Arabia^r; a distance which may be computed at rather more than one thousand stadia^s; and consequently above thirty Roman miles to the day at least. A similar statement occurs respecting the breadth of the isthmus between Pelusium, and Arsinoë on the Sinus Arabicus, one thousand stades^t: which Pliny estimates at 125 Roman miles^u, forty-one Roman miles to the day at the utmost, and thirty-one at the least: the mean between which is about the ordinary length of a day's journey, ἀνδρὶ ἐξ ὧν φ; and of this the statements must be understood. It is another instance of the same mode of statement that the distance from Brundisium to Tarentum is called one day's journey; which yet Strabo reckons at three hundred and ten stades, and Pliny at thirty-five Roman miles^v. Scymnus of Chius also makes it seven

putation is confirmed by the Itinerary of Antoninus, and Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vi. 73. Cf. Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*, iii. 44. and the Scholiast *in loc.* who makes the distance sixteen miles. The true meaning of Horace is, that an expeditious traveller might have made one day's journey of it from Rome to Forum Appii;

whereas he and his companion made two, (see the Scholiast *in loco*,) travelling about fifteen Roman miles the first day, and twenty-five the next. Forty Roman miles, or about thirty English, would actually be a day's journey for an expeditious traveller.

^o Illyrica, i. 1. ^p xii. 1. §. 10. 36. Pliny, H. N. ii. 112. ^q Strabo, xii. 6. §. 5. 190. ^r xvi. 4. §. 21. 442. ^s Diodorus Siculus, xix. 98. Josephus, *De Bello*, iv. viii. 4. Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum. ^t i. 94, 95. Cf. Herodotus, ii. 158. ^u H. N. v. 12. ^v Strabo, vi. 3. §. 1. 284. §. 5. 295. §. 8. 300. H. N. iii. 16.

days' journey across Asia from Amisus on the Euxine, to Alexandria on the Sinus Issicus^w: which could not be less than forty Roman miles to the day; and therefore would be greater than could be accomplished by any but an expeditious traveller*.

More instances might be collected; but these are sufficient to illustrate and confirm our original position; and, what I have chiefly in view by them, to shew that our Lord's day's journey, previous to his stopping with Zacchæus, admits of being computed at twenty-seven or twenty-eight Roman miles, as nothing

* Xenophon, *Œconomicus*, xx. 18: a day's journey is reckoned at 200 stades. Aristides, *Oratio* xiii. 305. §. 5: the circuit of the walls of Athens is called ἡμερησίας ὁδοῦ μήκος τὰ σύμπαντα: which Dio Chrysostom, vi. 199. §. 29-35, calls 200 stadia in extent, and half the periphery of Babylon. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. ii. 11: Herodotus, v. 54: Ephesus was three days' journey from Sardis, and 540 stadia: two days' journey of 200 stades, and one of 140. Demosthenes, *De Corona*, §. 247. 289: 700 stades are reckoned a three days' journey. Cf. Xenophon, *De Vectigalibus*, iv. 46, 47. Polybius, ii. 25: Clusium was three days' journey from Rome, that is, (Strabo, v. 2. §. 9. 142.) 800 stades. Libanius, *Oratio* xi. 286. 20. the distance of Antioch from the sea, 120 stades, (Cf. Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 7. 308, 309. Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, ii. 11, a passage quoted by Suidas in *Διέχουσαν*) is reckoned a six hours' journey ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ. Pausanias, x. 33. §. 2: a day's journey in the winter

season is put at 180 stades. Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, i. ix: *Militari ergo gradu viginti millia passuum horis quinque dumtaxat æstivis conficienda sunt. pleno autem gradu, qui citatior est, totidem horis viginti quatuor millia peragenda sunt.* Cf. cap. xxvii: also Spartian, Hadrianus, 10. Achilles Tatius, *Isagoge in Arati Phænomena, Uranologion*, 137. C. D: Χαλδαῖοι... λέγουσι... πάλιν ἀνδρὸς πορείαν, μήτε τρέχοντος, μήτε ἡρέμα βαδίζοντος, μήτε γέροντος, μήτε παιδὸς, τὴν πορείαν εἶναι τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ λ' σταδίων καθαρῶν εἶναι: that is, as I understand it, at the rate of thirty stades in an hour. Jonah iii. 3: Nineveh is called a city of three days' journey, which must mean in circuit; that is, 480 stades; which is at the rate of 160 stades a day. The same thing is implied of Babylon, Aristotle, *Politica*, iii. i. 12: τοιαύτη δ' ἴσως ἐστὶ καὶ Βαβυλῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἥτις ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως, ἥσγε φασὶν ἐαλωκνίας τρίτην ἡμέραν οὐκ αἰσθῆσθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως.

^w Apud Geographos Minores, ii. 54. l. 185—189. Cf. Herodotus, i. 72. ii. 34.

greater than common; but not at thirty-two or thirty-three, which would probably be above the standard. Hence after travelling that distance on the Friday, he might well stop within three or four miles of Bethany; and yet arrive there within an hour after sunset on the evening of the following Saturday.

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